

The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls



C. D. Elledge

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THE BIBLE AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



Society of Biblical Literature



Archaeology and Biblical Studies

Andrew G. Vaughn,
Editor

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by

C. D. Elledge

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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PREFACE

An excellent photographer is one who has mastered the art of capturing priceless moments. As opposed to video, which portrays entire series of events, a photograph captures lives, emotions, and scenes in one shining moment of intensity. A special moment during a wedding, a heroic play in a sporting event, a crying child—the joys, triumphs, and tragedies of such moments point beyond themselves. Although isolated moments on film, they illumine the fascinating world in which we live and the enigmatic character of the human beings who inhabit it.

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide us with a priceless “snapshot” of the world that shaped the emergence of the Bible. They transport us back in time to the days of the Maccabees and Herod, Jesus and Hillel, Josephus and Paul. In the frail portraiture of fragments and scrolls, they have given us the visual remains of one shining moment in the long and complex story of the Bible. The purpose of this book is to provide an essential guide to what the Scrolls teach us today.

Several excellent introductions to the larger field of Qumran Studies have been provided elsewhere, especially those by James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); Geza Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994); Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); and Peter Flint and James C. VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002). The purpose of the current work is to complement these works in three regards.

First, this book concentrates on what the Scrolls can teach us about the world of the Bible and the unique place of the Qumran Community within it. Relatively more attention is invested in topics directly related to the wider range of biblical literature, and relatively less is devoted to matters exclusive to Qumran studies. The book should, therefore, be read as a companion for all who desire to understand the world of the Bible more fully in light of historical research. It seeks to meet this objective in keeping with the other informative volumes of the Society of Biblical Literature’s Archaeology and Biblical Studies series.

Second, this book addresses some of the most common questions asked by nonspecialists. An unfortunate result of the vast and complex matrix of Scroll reconstruction, dating methodologies, peculiar vocabulary, and fragmentary manuscripts is that the Scrolls still remain largely inaccessible to general readers. To this day, knowledge of the Scrolls in the general public often consists of a few details about the publishing controversies of the 1980s, the dubious proposals of sensationalists, and scattered images of caves, deserts, and bedouin. In spite of their significance, the vast majority of Bible readers have still never read a Dead Sea Scroll. The present book hopes to lead the general reader of the Bible through these frustrating barriers, in pursuit of a basic working knowledge that will generate a deeper appreciation for both the biblical world and the Scrolls. In order to remain accessible to a variety of readers, the book is organized around seven of the questions most frequently asked about the Scrolls:

- What are the Dead Sea Scrolls and how were they discovered?
- What do we know about the archaeology of Qumran?
- Who lived at Qumran and what was their story?
- What kinds of ancient writings are preserved among the Scrolls?
- Why are the Scrolls important for understanding the Hebrew Bible?
- Why are the Scrolls important for Second Temple Judaism?
- Why are the Scrolls important for understanding the New Testament?

In the corresponding treatment, the most significant evidence, terminologies, and theories are presented, with the hope that readers will become more confident about asking their own questions about Qumran and its Scrolls. Each chapter introduces both traditional and more recent theories, rather than advancing new proposals. A concise treatment of these essential questions allows more time for reading the primary documents themselves in educational settings.

Third, this book has the benefit of culminating with the final stages of the monumental publication of all the Scrolls. Many important Scroll fragments reassigned during the early 1990s have only recently been published. The announcement of Emanuel Tov in 2001 that all major publications of the Scrolls are now complete signals that this is an opportune moment to begin documenting the contribution that the full corpus of material is making to the study of the biblical world. One fortunate result of this situation is that we can now also give greater attention to fascinating writings that have not always enjoyed a detailed treatment in other introductions, including *Pseudo-Ezekiel*; *Bless, O My Soul*; *Songs of the Sage*; *Sapiential Work A*; and other traditions. Furthermore, the recent explosion of interest in Qumran archaeology also demands that introductions be updated to reflect both traditional theories and new proposals.

I wish to thank all those whose generous aid has greatly contributed to my work. Prof. Andrew G. Vaughn, editor of the Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies series, provided the initial insight and encouragement for me to undertake the challenge. I remain indebted to numerous conversations with Profs. James H. Charlesworth of Princeton Seminary and Émile Puech of the École Biblique, my original teachers in this field. Profs. Henry W. Rietz, Michael Daise, and Lidija Novakovic informed me regarding the potential contents and usefulness of this work. I appreciate the ongoing contribution that Prof. Ehud Netzer has made to my understanding of contemporary archaeological sites. Rebecca Waltenberger, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, provided a meticulous and insightful reading of an earlier draft. The Israel Antiquities Authority has always graciously allowed me to view manuscripts essential to my research. I thank Lowell Williams for permission to use a photograph. Pat Francek of the Gustavus Adolphus College Media Services Department helped me produce a map. Finally, I am especially grateful to Bob Buller and the publications staff of the SBL for their excellence in the production of the manuscript.

Conventions of abbreviation and documentation follow the *Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style* (ed. P. Alexander et al.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). Quotations of the Scrolls in English generally follow, with frequent revision, Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–98; paperback ed., Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), and the volumes of the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (ed. J. Charlesworth et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997–). Citations from the Bible follow the New Revised Standard Version. Citations of pseudepigrapha follow James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–85). Quotations of Josephus and other ancient Greek and Latin literature derive from the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), with occasional revision. Pictures are those of the author, unless acknowledged otherwise.

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February 2005

ABBREVIATIONS

MAJOR ABBREVIATIONS IN SCROLLS NOMENCLATURE

ap/apoc	apocryphon
ar	Aramaic
CD	Cairo Damascus
col.	column
D	<i>Damascus Document</i>
frg.	fragment
gr	Greek
H	<i>Hodayot</i> (or <i>Thanksgiving Hymns</i>)
LXX	Septuagint
M	<i>Milhama</i> (or <i>War Scroll</i>)
Mas	Masada
MMT	<i>Miqtsat Ma'asei Ha-Torah</i> (<i>Some of the Works of the Torah</i>)
MS	manuscript
p	pesher (or "commentary")
pap	papyrus
par.	parallel manuscripts
ps	pseudo
Q	Qumran
S	<i>Serek</i> (or "rule")
T	<i>Temple Scroll</i>

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BRev	<i>Bible Review</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorium christianorum orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSERL	Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library
DSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
DSSSE	Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDS	Judaean Desert Studies
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LDSS	Library of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OTL	Old Testament Library
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology

SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

1

WHAT ARE THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND HOW WERE THEY DISCOVERED?

One of the great action adventure films of the last generation was *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. The film told the exciting story of an American archaeologist, Indiana Jones, who set out in quest of the biblical ark of the covenant. Battling against international competition in the throes of World War II, piecing his limited evidence together like a detective, and enduring numerous betrayals and attacks by his enemies, the protagonist finally discovers a glorious artifact from the biblical world that had been lost from civilization for nearly three thousand years.

As with the winding plot line of this popular film, the story of the Scrolls' discovery takes us to the Middle East in the 1940s; it is not immune from the numerous political conflicts of those days, nor is it completely free of professional rivalry, danger, and infamy. The present chapter introduces the discovery of the Scrolls and describes the complex, and sometimes controversial, process that has resulted in their full publication. Finally, it will be necessary to describe the numerous formats in which the Scrolls are currently available to be studied today.

THE UNLIKELY DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT LIBRARY

Unlike Indiana Jones, those who originally discovered the Dead Sea Scrolls did not set out on an intentional archaeological quest to find ancient treasures. In the real world, such quests are more frequently dangerous than successful, and great discoveries are often surprising, even to those who make them. The original discovery of the Scrolls was a chance find whose value was only progressively realized by those who had the skill and intuition to recognize their worth. Furthermore, the entire story transpired beneath the storm clouds of political conflict that would see the end of the British Mandate, the formation of the State of Israel, and the War for Israeli Independence (1947–48).

The first modern person to discover a Dead Sea Scroll was Muhammad ed-Dhib, one of the many bedouin who lead their flocks along the wadis that

descend easterly through the steep inclines of the Judean wilderness and into the Dead Sea. While tending their flocks, ed-Dhib's cousin, Jum'a Muhammad Khalil, had thrown a rock into a nearby cave, creating an unusual shattering sound within. Later, ed-Dhib ascended into the cave to discover the source of this sound. Inside he found at least eight clay jars, one of which had provided the shattering sound of the previous day. Inside one of these jars were three beautifully preserved scrolls: the *Great Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a), the *Commentary on Habakkuk* (1QpHab), and the *Rule of the Community* (1QS = 1Q28).

A return visit to the same cave revealed four additional manuscripts: the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a), the *War Scroll* (1QM = 1Q33), the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar = 1Q20), and a more fragmentary version of Isaiah (1QIsa^b = 1Q8). All these documents were written in Hebrew, with the exception of the Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon*. This discovery is usually dated to late winter or early spring of 1947, yet some contradictory reports by the bedouin themselves have implied that the discovery may have been made months, or even years, earlier. Since other caves containing scrolls would be found in the same region, this first cave, located in the cliffs 1.25 miles northwest of the Dead Sea, is called Cave 1.

The bedouin were understandably perplexed by the unknown contents of the scrolls they had discovered. Yet they were equally convinced of their value. The cousins, therefore, brought their unlikely finds to a well-known merchant named Khalil Iskandar Shahin ("Kando"), whose family's antiquities shops can still be visited in Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Kando began the grass-roots marketing effort that would eventually result in the identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls. One of the first people Kando contacted in his attempt to find a prospective buyer for these scrolls was George Isaiah, a fellow member of the Syrian Orthodox Church. Isaiah, in turn, mentioned the scrolls to a leader of



Qumran Cave 1

his church at Saint Mark's Monastery of Jerusalem, Mar Athanasius Samuel. Mar Samuel took interest in the scrolls and purchased four of them for twenty-four pounds in the summer of 1947. These included the *Great Isaiah Scroll*, the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, the *Rule of the Community*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. The other three continued to be marketed from Bethlehem by another party.

As rumors of the newly discovered scrolls spread on the antiquities markets and in the ecclesiastical community, they attracted the attention of Eleazar Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Endangering his own life amid the troubles of those days, Sukenik visited Bethlehem. He became convinced of the antiquity of the manuscripts, since their writing resembled inscriptions dating prior to the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. On the very day of the "partition plan" for Palestine, November 29, 1947, Sukenik purchased the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *War Scroll*. Later he purchased the shorter version of Isaiah. Thus, by the end of 1947, all seven manuscripts originally discovered in Cave 1 had been purchased, together with several smaller fragments. They were owned by two different parties: Saint Mark's Monastery of Jerusalem (four) and Eleazar Sukenik (three). Within the space of a single year, the Scrolls had passed through the hands of Muslim shepherds, Christian priests, and a Jewish scholar. Sukenik pursued other leads that might unearth similar finds. His queries led him, ironically, to Mar Samuel himself in January of 1948. Sukenik attempted to purchase the scrolls of Saint Mark's Monastery, yet was unable to acquire sufficient funding. Later, with funding, his offers were refused.

Rather than selling the scrolls to Sukenik, Mar Samuel contacted two young American scholars at the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, William Brownlee and John Trever. Brownlee and Trever, together with Millar Burrows (the director of the school) and famed archaeologist W. F. Albright, confirmed the antiquity of Mar Samuel's scrolls by studying the age of the script in which they were written. This method of dating ancient manuscripts is called "paleography" and has been used ever since as one of the most important methods for dating the Scrolls. Their analysis independently confirmed Sukenik's assessment: these writings were not simply hundreds, *but thousands, of years old* and derived from the great age of Palestinian Judaism prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. Trever photographed copies of the *Great Isaiah Scroll*, the *Rule of the Community*, and the *Commentary on Habakkuk*. With quality photographs, it would be forever possible to study these documents, regardless of their precise ownership or location. The media soon also became involved. Though occasionally misleading, as media reports often are, the discovery of the Scrolls was broadcast throughout the English-speaking world in the *New York Times* and *The Times* of London. Three exciting developments would close the circle of the seven scrolls originally discovered in 1947.

First, the seven scrolls from Cave 1 would all be published by 1956. The American Schools of Oriental Research published the *Great Isaiah Scroll*, the *Rule of the Community*, and the *Commentary on Habakkuk* (1950–51). Close upon their heels, Sukenik published (posthumously) the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *War Scroll*, and the shorter Isaiah scroll (1954–55). Finally, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, which was in much poorer condition than the other six, was later published by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin (1956). Due to the manageable number of scrolls and the excellent condition in which most were preserved, all seven were efficiently published within a decade of their discovery.

Second, Yigael Yadin, the son of Sukenik, united all seven scrolls under the common ownership of the State of Israel. In the heated military conflict of 1948, Mar Samuel had taken the four scrolls under his possession into Lebanon for security. The legality of transporting antiquities out of their region of origin was questioned, and Mar Samuel eventually took them to the United States. Advertising openly in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1954, Mar Samuel sought to sell the scrolls. Yadin was, coincidentally, visiting in the States and was made aware of the sale. Negotiating through intermediaries, Yadin purchased the four scrolls for \$250,000. They remain housed at the Shrine of the Book within the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

Third, additional scroll fragments were discovered in Cave 1 in 1949. The task for publishing most of these fragments fell to two Catholic priests, Dominique Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, who had excavated the remains of Cave 1 while serving at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, the old French school of biblical and archaeological research in the Holy Land. These fragments were hardly as majestic as the great scrolls that had already emerged from the cave, yet they were extremely important finds. They contained numerous biblical manuscripts from the same era as the other scrolls. Together with the two Isaiah scrolls already discovered, these constituted the earliest biblical manuscripts available to modern study. They also contained commentaries on Zephaniah, Micah, and Psalms, written in styles similar to the *Commentary on Habakkuk*. Another copy of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* was discovered (1QH^b = 1Q35). The finds of the cave also featured ancient copies of important “pseudepigrapha,” that is, works widely studied for religious purposes in antiquity but not numbered among the major authoritative documents of the Hebrew Bible in later generations. These included fragments of *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*. The cave further contained writings previously unknown to anyone, including fragments of apocalyptic and wisdom writings. Barthélemy and Milik completed their work and in 1955 published their editions of these manuscripts in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, the very first volume of what would later become a forty-volume series organized by Clarendon Press and dedicated to the publication of the scrolls discovered in the wilderness of Judah. With this publi-

cation, it became clear to everyone that more than seven scrolls had been found in the Judean desert: the remains of an entire ancient library lost for centuries had begun to be unveiled.

As the voluminous finds of the first cave became known, scholars began returning to the same region in hopes of more discoveries. This had been virtually impossible amid the political turmoil of the years immediately after the original find. By 1951, however, the smoke had cleared at least enough to allow further ventures into the wilderness area. In this year bedouin again discovered a cave along the Wadi Murabba'at, several miles south of Cave 1. Within this cave and others nearby were discovered numerous documents from the time of the Second Jewish Revolt against the Roman Empire (132–135 c.e.). Milik joined together with two other Dominican priests of the École Biblique, Pierre Benoit and Roland de Vaux, to publish these documents in the second volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (1961). The finds in 1951 continued to inspire hopes that more scrolls were hidden away in the numerous wilderness caves that surrounded the Dead Sea.

In the following year, bedouin discovered yet another cave (Cave 2). Nearby Cave 1, this new cave hardly contained as many important finds. Nevertheless, the remains of biblical manuscripts, Ben Sira, and *Jubilees* were found. Later in 1952, professional archaeologists finally discovered their first cave (Cave



Qumran Cave 4

3). Again, the finds were less impressive than those of Cave 1. Some biblical manuscripts were discovered, as well as a (probable) commentary on Isaiah and another fragment of *Jubilees*. Most notable among the finds of Cave 3 was the *Copper Scroll* (3Q15), which contains enigmatic references to ancient treasure sites.

The bedouin, however, could not be matched for the number of important discoveries made in this region. After discovering two sites from which additional ancient manuscripts were found (Khirbet Mird and Naḥal Hever), the bedouin made their greatest discovery since Cave 1. Located just across the terrace from an ancient ruin along the Wadi Qumran, Cave 4 provided the richest finds among all caves containing ancient manuscripts. Thousands of fragments, comprising over five hundred original manuscripts, were found in this cave. With the stakes higher than ever before, intrigue and confusion immediately ensued. Initially, bedouin began to sell many fragments. Fathers de Vaux and Milik were able to retain possession of approximately one hundred manuscripts. The rest began to be sold to the Jordanian government and other international interests. The Jordanians, very responsibly, housed the thousands of fragments that came into their possession in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, located in East Jerusalem. This would allow for their further study and publication. The sheer number of finds necessitated the formation of an international team to work with these materials. Their work would not be completed until the dawn of the next millennium. The following section will deal with the numerous controversies and challenges raised by the publication of these fragments. Presently, however, a summation of the contents of Cave 4 will indicate its vast significance.

Cave 4 attested approximately 137 biblical manuscripts.¹ These include the remains of every book of today's Hebrew Bible, with the exception of only Esther and possibly Nehemiah. The cave also included twelve biblical commentaries that closely resemble the *Commentary on Habakkuk* from Cave 1. Copies of apocryphal works, such as Tobit, and pseudepigrapha, such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, were preserved. Manuscripts of "rule" documents were found, including more copies of the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Damascus Document*, a work previously known only from much later copies found in the Cairo Genizah. New legal documents explaining the proper practice of ritual purity were discovered. Additional hymns and prayers, wise sayings, and apocalyptic writings appeared for the first time. Among the finds were surprising new versions of biblical writings that were not simply copies of the biblical text but artful paraphrases and expansions of Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Daniel, and other writings. Since Cave 4 was intentionally hewn out by hand, unlike the other caves, and since it preserved holes for shelves to organize the manuscripts, some scholars have suggested

that the Scrolls placed here were not a random stash of manuscripts but the remains of a self-consciously crafted ancient library. If Caves 2 and 3 had disappointed expectations, Cave 4 far surpassed what anyone could have hoped to find. In addition to the marvelous manuscript finds, the proximity of Cave 4 to the old ruin along the Wadi Qumran raised the decisive question of how the caves and their manuscripts might be related to this mysterious archaeological site.

The remarkable discovery of Cave 4 led to the identification of two additional caves nearby in the same year (Caves 5 and 6). While their contents were meager, the caves preserved biblical manuscripts as well as copies of the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*. No new caves were discovered until 1955. During excavations of the ruin at Qumran in that year, archaeologists identified Caves 7–10 near the site. Again, the finds were meager, but additional discoveries so near the old ruin continued to press the issue of the relationship between the caves, their manuscripts, and the site. As with their efficient work on the Cave 1 materials, the priests of the École Biblique labored feverishly to publish the finds of these new caves. With the publication of the third volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (1962), the materials from these smaller caves were fully accessible within a decade of their original discovery. Prolifically, the priests accomplished this within the very decade in which de Vaux was excavating the site of Qumran and publicly announcing his finds.

The last cave to be discovered yielded the most important finds acquired since those of Cave 4. Located approximately 1.25 miles north of Qumran, Cave 11 was discovered by bedouin in January of 1956. It yielded the best-preserved scrolls since those discovered in Cave 1. Its contents included important biblical manuscripts, pseudepigrapha, biblical commentaries, hymns, and legal works. The bedouin did not fully reveal their finds until February of that year. In the intervening weeks, one scroll from Cave 11—the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a = 11Q19)—passed into the hands of Kando. It would prove to be the longest of all Dead Sea Scrolls. Yigael Yadin, who had previously purchased Mar Samuel's scrolls in 1954, feared that this important scroll might be sold on foreign markets. He had learned of its existence from a minister in Virginia. During the Six Day War of 1967, he purchased the scroll from Kando, after Israeli officers searched his antiquities shop and found the scroll in his possession. The lines between confiscation and purchase run thin in this episode. When he was questioned about the legitimacy of the acquisition, Yadin responded bluntly and truthfully that he had paid him for the scroll. Yadin's critics maintain this was an example of forced confiscation that would make it more difficult to acquire other scrolls floating on the antiquities markets. Others have criticized Kando for concealing the scroll in the first place. Despite such controversy, Yadin—as

always—achieved his objective, and the largest Dead Sea Scroll remains in the possession of the State of Israel at the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem.

Since the discovery of Cave 11, no new cave containing Dead Sea Scrolls has been found. One may ask, then, Have all the Dead Sea Scrolls been found? For several reasons, it seems wise to answer this question in the negative. The entire episode of the *Temple Scroll* clearly illustrates how an important scroll could bypass excavators and become available to international purchasers. If this is possible with the largest Dead Sea Scroll, it is conceivable that much smaller fragments could easily remain in the possession of antiquities dealers or private owners until this day. Several fragments were, in fact, acquired by the Martin Schøyen Collection of Oslo, Norway, including one fragment of a “rule” document and another of the book of Daniel. In 2000, James H. Charlesworth of Princeton Seminary published previously unknown biblical fragments that came into his possession. These have been dated to the first century C.E. by both paleography and AMS Carbon-14. Although their precise origin remains unknown, they are probably newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1999, a striking announcement promised the discovery of the most important new Dead Sea Scroll in a generation. The existence of an “Angel Scroll” was announced in international media. An English translation was widely distributed. Certain aspects of its content were not unbelievable, since genuine Dead Sea Scrolls mention angelic beings and apocalyptic tours of the heavenly world. To this day, however, no scholar has seen this reputed document; no paleographical study has been published; no photographs are accessible; and the entire affair has, therefore, been politely ignored until more is known. There has, thus, been no major discovery of a new Dead Sea Scroll since 1956. Nevertheless, the new authentic fragments that have surfaced only within the last decade indicate that it may be premature to seal the vault completely on one of history’s greatest discoveries.

CONTROVERSIES SOLVED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Some of the most highly publicized aspects of the Scrolls involve the infamous controversies regarding their publication in the 1980s and 1990s. Rumors regarding a Vatican conspiracy to hide the Scrolls have also frequently animated popular imagination. The reasons for these controversies are manifold, yet in significant measure they all derive from the difficult challenges posed by the publication of the Cave 4 materials. All the scrolls discovered in Caves 1–3 and 5–10 had been published as early as 1962. Roland de Vaux published a book on his excavation of the ruin at Qumran in 1961. The scrolls of Cave 11 were slowed by the logjam of Cave 4 materials; yet even so, Yadin published a monumental three-volume edition of the *Temple Scroll* in Hebrew (1977) and in

English (1983), and James A. Sanders published the *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^a = 11Q5) of Cave 11 in 1965. With the discovery of Cave 4, however, Pandora's box had been opened.

An international team of scholars, assembled under de Vaux, was formed to deal with these materials. Regrettably missing from the team was any Israeli or Jewish scholar. Many of the Cave 4 materials had been sold to the Jordanian government. Although the Jordanians placed the fragments in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in East Jerusalem, the Arab-Israeli conflicts of those days made it virtually impossible for Israeli and Jewish scholars to serve on the team. The perils facing the team included the following.

First of all, the finds from Cave 4 are the most fragmentary among the three major caves. The Cave 4 materials had deteriorated into thousands of fragments. It was not enough simply to transcribe and translate what was written on individual fragments, a challenging task in itself; it was necessary to do this *and* to piece those fragments correctly together into the manuscripts they originally comprised.

Second, one must again mention the political upheavals of the region. During the Six Day War of 1967, the State of Israel captured East Jerusalem, including the Palestine Archaeological Museum, where the Jordanians had deposited the Cave 4 materials. These materials, thus, came into the possession of the State of Israel. The precise ownership of these fragments remains a question of some subtlety, not unlike the question of the political status of East Jerusalem itself. Even so, the events of 1967 did not disturb the basic continuity of the team gathered to publish the Scrolls.

Third, a number of notorious controversies served to pressurize the entire context of publishing the Scrolls. John Allegro, an agnostic, lashed out at what he perceived to be the dominance of Roman Catholic scholars over the publication process. He further charged that Catholic scholars had conspired to suppress the publication of the Scrolls, since their contents were damaging to Christianity. In some sectors, this anti-Catholic conspiracy theory has not abated, even to this day. As Allegro's charges inflamed other members of the team, he wandered out in search of the treasures alluded to in the *Copper Scroll* and published an unauthorized edition of this document. Yet beyond all compare was his 1970 repudiation of Christianity, *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross*, a work in which he attempted to trace the origins of Christianity to the use of entheogenic herbs. Such distractions could only increase the hazards of an already difficult task.

Fourth, when fragments were assigned to particular scholars for publication, some scholars zealously guarded them and insisted on their exclusive rights to publish the material. It is understandable that scholars who had invested years of training and experience in the publication of the Scrolls would at least want credit for their work. One scholar, for example, Elisha Qimron, together

with John Strugnell, had produced a unique edition of a legal writing discovered in Cave 4 (*Some of the Works of the Torah*). In order to accelerate public access to these materials, they allowed preliminary versions to be circulated among other scholars. In 1991, however, their work was published without permission in a series of documents regarding the Scrolls controversies prepared by Hershel Shanks, the colorful editor of *Biblical Archaeology Review* (*BAR*). The result was a lawsuit, which Qimron won. This incident illustrates how academic publishing rights could come into direct conflict with the public's desire to see the Scrolls made fully accessible.

Fifth, one must account for changes in leadership and the deaths of numerous members of the original team. Father de Vaux died in 1971 and was replaced by Pierre Benoit, the director of the École Biblique. Benoit set clear deadlines for the submission of materials, but his requests were hardly followed. After Benoit died in 1987, John Strugnell, who had resolutely endured all of these things, directed the team. Strugnell increased the number of individuals working on these materials and included the services of Israeli and Jewish scholars. His service, however, would be brief (1987–90), as a number of factors eventuated his removal. These included a growing rage in vocal sectors of the academic community and media that the Scrolls were being hidden from the public. Conspiracy theories abounded. When scholars not on the official team requested to view manuscripts in 1989, they were denied by Strugnell. Such denial was deemed necessary to maintain the order of the publishing process, yet it was viewed by many as evidence that the Scrolls had been taken into the exclusive control of an academic and ecclesiastical elite. Increasing the pressure on the team from his popular journal, *BAR*, Hershel Shanks championed the immediate public release of all the Scrolls.

The public pressure was directed not only at Strugnell but also at the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), the bureau of the State of Israel responsible for the Scrolls. Embarrassed by the negative exposure, the IAA assigned Emanuel Tov, an Israeli professor at the Hebrew University, to work alongside Strugnell. This seemed to forebode the eventual replacement of Strugnell, whose health was declining. A controversial interview in the Israeli newspaper *Ha-aretz* (November 9, 1990) would accelerate his dismissal. In this interview Strugnell called Judaism "a horrible religion." Although he probably made these comments in a figurative sense, they damaged his credibility to oversee a project so important to the history of Judaism. The IAA removed Strugnell in 1990 and replaced him with a triumvirate of three editors: Emanuel Tov, who served as the chair; Émile Puech, a French priest who continued the long-standing tradition of Scrolls research at the École Biblique; and Eugene Ulrich of the University of Notre Dame. This process of reorganization took time. Nevertheless, its results speak for themselves. Since 1990, over twenty volumes of Discoveries

in the Judean Desert have been completed, and virtually all identified Dead Sea Scroll fragments from Cave 4 have now been published. Furthermore, Tov, Puech, and Ulrich have successfully avoided the snares of professional rivalry and public controversy that victimized previous scholars. Their leadership is to be congratulated.

Given the ultimate success of those scholars who invested decades of laborious frustration in the publication of the Scrolls, it seems only appropriate today to look beyond the controversies of the late 1980s and 1990s and recognize the final result: all the Dead Sea Scrolls have now become available to modern study through hard work and international cooperation. Those entrusted with their study learned from trial and error and eventually succeeded—even without the help of an Indiana Jones. As we now read the Scrolls in a new generation, we are indebted to all who have contributed to their study, however strange the roles they have played. Furthermore, the previous generation of discovery in the Judean wilderness offers an invaluable model for understanding how historical scholarship in ancient cultures originates, progresses, and remains accessible to future generations.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Beginning readers of the Scrolls are often plagued by the question, Where do I find all this stuff? The following comments will orient the reader to the most important venues of Scroll publication.

CONVENTIONS OF CITATION

Individual manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls are typically referred to in three different ways. First, a scroll may be referred to by title, such as the *Temple Scroll*. Such designations are the most “user-friendly,” but they can sometimes lack specificity. Thus, other references are also necessary. Second, individual manuscripts may be designated by cave and manuscript numbers. Using this format is necessary, since more than one copy of an individual document may exist. Thus, the largest copy of the *Temple Scroll* is referred to as 11Q19: 11Q identifies the writing as a Dead Sea Scroll from Cave 11 near Qumran; 19 names the individual manuscript. Another manuscript of the *Temple Scroll* from Cave 4, on the other hand, is specified as 4Q524. Third, manuscripts are occasionally referred to with an abbreviation following Q rather than a number. Thus, 11Q19 can also be referred to as 11QT^a (= *Temple Scroll*, manuscript a). A different copy from the same cave, 11Q20, is cited as 11QT^b. Passages of individual manuscripts are specified by citing the column, line, and occasionally fragment number (e.g., frg. 4 2.10 = fragment 4, column 2, line 10). Columns

also frequently appear in Roman numerals (e.g., II 10). A comprehensive list of all the Scrolls appears in the *SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (1999).

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

For decades, Geza Vermes's *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (1962) provided what many interested readers could regard as their most convenient access to the Scrolls. It is now updated as *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (1998). Florentino García Martínez's *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994; 2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) provides another translation.

DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDEAN DESERT (DJD)

The Oxford Clarendon series Discoveries in the Judean Desert was the first extended series to take on the challenge of publishing the Scrolls. The series contains publications of Dead Sea Scrolls, organized by cave, and includes materials discovered at other sites in the Judean wilderness. The order of presentation in a DJD volume features a brief introduction describing each manuscript's paleography, date, and relationship to other writings. A transcription of the manuscript and a modern translation follow. Each volume concludes with photographic "Plates" so that readers can study the manuscripts themselves.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY DEAD SEA SCROLLS PROJECT (PTSDSSP)

This project produces a multivolume series of the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls. Typical volumes include introductions, Hebrew texts, and English translations, without photographic plates. Each volume is organized by topic, not cave. The recently published volume 6B (2002), for example, contains virtually all biblical commentaries regardless of cave number. One would otherwise need to purchase many books to study these writings together.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS STUDY EDITION (DSSSE)

For convenience and ready reference, it is difficult to surpass the two-volume *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (1997–98). The typical entry in the edition includes an excellent bibliography together with Hebrew text and English translation. It resembles volumes of the Loeb Classical Library.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS ELECTRONIC REFERENCE LIBRARY (DSSERL)

An exciting tool for the study of the Scrolls is *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (1999). In two CDs, this project has brought together virtually all of the Scrolls with Hebrew texts, English translations, and photographs. The entire database is searchable in Hebrew and Aramaic. Photographs of major documents appear brilliantly in color, and images may even be maximized for a closer look.

JOURNALS

Due to the long delays encountered in the publication of the Scrolls, journals have held an important role in Qumran studies. This is especially the case with *Revue de Qumrân*, the standard journal in this field. Two more recent journals, *Dead Sea Discoveries* and the *Qumran Chronicle*, have also contributed important studies.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS ON MICROFICHE

In 1991, Robert Eisenman and James Robinson edited *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*—a collection of over seventeen hundred photographic plates that allowed unprecedented public access to the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1993, the Israel Antiquities Authority followed with an even more impressive collection of photographs. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* contains approximately six thousand photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Judean wilderness manuscripts, such as those found at Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever. With the publication of this microfiche edition, the Dead Sea Scrolls publishing controversy was officially buried. As of 1993, all the Scrolls were available to modern study—at least for those who could read Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.

OTHER RESOURCES

In certain cases the finest editions of Dead Sea Scrolls are available in individually published works. This is especially the case with several works by Yadin, including the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen; *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea*, 1956), the *War Scroll* (1QM = 1Q33; *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962), and the *Temple Scroll* (1977, 1983). The recently published *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2000), edited by Lawrence Schiffman and James VanderKam, has provided a concise, two-volume update to the entire field of study.

2

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF QUMRAN?

As the fires of discovery blazed along the western coast of the Dead Sea in the early 1950s, an extensive ruin located upon the raised marl terrace overlooking the Wadi Qumran became increasingly conspicuous. Cave 4, which produced the richest manuscript finds among the caves, had been discovered just across the terrace from this mysterious ruin. The discovery of six additional caves (5–10) immediately near the ruin further pressed the issue of its relationship to the newly discovered Scrolls. This issue also became increasingly important, since the question of who had copied, preserved, and stored the manuscripts in caves had not yet been fully answered. The present chapter describes the excavation of Qumran and what was discovered there. It also introduces the most important features of its architecture and possible relationships among the site, the caves, and the Scrolls, including reference to the Qumran cemetery and other important locations in the Judean wilderness.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE SITE

Much of what is known about Qumran has come to us through the eyes of Father Roland de Vaux. Not only was de Vaux responsible for organizing the publishing of many of the Scrolls, but he was also the principal excavator of Qumran. Father de Vaux, of course, was not the first to offer an assessment of Qumran. Félicien de Saulcy believed in 1861 that he had found the ancient biblical city of Gomorrah at Qumran. Later the German scholar Gustav Dalman promoted a theory that would prevail until de Vaux's excavations: the site preserved the remains of a Roman fortification of the first century C.E. This proposal was originally taken for granted as the Scrolls were being discovered.¹ The increasing evidence that poured forth from the nearby caves, however, demanded a serious reconsideration.

Together with G. Lankester Harding, Director of Jordanian Antiquities, Father de Vaux began a series of excavations at the site in 1951 and continued through 1958 with his work at Ein Feshkha. Working in the cooler spring

months, de Vaux excavated most of the entire site of Qumran. He found that the site had been inhabited in two historical epochs far removed from each other.

First, de Vaux found evidence of occupation as early as the Iron Age (the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.E.). Three eighth-century “LMLK” (“belonging to the king”) jar handle inscriptions anchored the earliest history of the site to this date. He further conjectured that this city may have been the “City of Salt” mentioned in the book of Joshua (15:62). Among other features, the circular cistern in the western portion of the site (Locus 110) probably derived from this era of Qumran’s history. The Iron Age settlement met its doom around 587 B.C.E. with the Babylonian conquest.

Second, de Vaux discovered that the next era of activity at the site began in the Hellenistic period after 140 B.C.E. and continued through various phases well into the Roman period. This second period of occupation corresponded to the same centuries in which manuscripts from the caves had originally been copied. Within this Hellenistic-Roman period of occupation, de Vaux distinguished the following individual phases of development.

PHASE 1A (CA. 140 B.C.E.)

Father de Vaux’s earliest significant evidence of activity at the site began with the extensive rebuilding activity of Phase 1b (ca. 134–104 B.C.E.). Yet he had to account for the fact that earlier materials had been transformed in this later rebuilding process; moreover, new cisterns and channels had already been built around the old Iron Age cistern prior to Phase 1b. He therefore proposed a slightly earlier phase of occupation around 140 B.C.E., just prior to the reign of John Hyrcanus. Little is known from Phase 1a, since the site would later be dramatically transformed and modified for a new time. Some archaeologists, in fact, doubt its existence entirely. In light of the evidence of industrious activity in Phase 1b, it seems best to understand Phase 1a as a humble beginning for Qumran.

PHASE 1B (CA. 134–31 B.C.E.)

Sometime during the reign of the Hasmonean priest John Hyrcanus (134–104), Qumran underwent dramatic transformation. The expansion of the site was dated to these years by a coin from John’s reign. During this phase, the preexisting site expanded both to the north and to the west. Second-story units were added to numerous buildings. The remarkable water system was expanded throughout the site to the southeast. New cisterns were added, and the prominent tower was built on the north central perimeter. Due to the large amount of expansion, these years may well represent a high-water mark of activity at

Qumran. Finding evidence of both a fault line and ashes among the buildings of this phase, de Vaux argued that Phase 1b concluded with an earthquake, a fire, and resultant damages to several buildings. Based upon the writings of Josephus, an important Jewish historian of this era, de Vaux dated the earthquake to 31 B.C.E.—the very year in which a violent earthquake shook the entire region, heralding the advent of Augustus and his epic triumph over Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium (*War* 1.370). The year posed a likely conclusion to this phase of Qumran history, since it would seem impossible that life could have continued normally at the site, given the amount of damage done by this major earthquake. As for the fire, de Vaux, after some rumination, concluded that it was an attendant circumstance to the earthquake. Other scholars, however, have suggested that Qumran was burned during the conflicts of 40–37 B.C.E., when the Parthians attempted to establish Antigonus as ruler of the region, in direct opposition to the Roman support for Herod (Josephus, *War* 1.248–357; *Ant.* 14.324–491).² Whatever the cause(s) of the fire, de Vaux argued that Qumran was abandoned after 31 and that occupation of the site did not resume until sometime after the death of Herod (4 B.C.E.), perhaps during the social upheavals that attended his demise (*War* 1.647–2.79). He called to his support a buildup of silt in one of the cisterns, which seemed to indicate prolonged neglect in maintenance. He lacked clear evidence, however, for the intervening years between the earthquake and the death of Herod. Some scholars have attempted to fill this void with the theory that those who inhabited the site were especially favored by Herod and granted a more suitable abode in Jerusalem during his reign.

PHASE 2 (CA. 4 B.C.E.–68 C.E.)

The site was rebuilt in the years following King Herod's death. The rebuilt settlement was smaller than the great development of Phase 1b. Bringing an end to this phase was the Jewish Revolt of 66–70 C.E. De Vaux found in the stratigraphic layers of this phase the story of the "last days" of Qumran. Identifying more than eighty coins of the second year of the Jewish Revolt (= 68 C.E.), de Vaux used *numismatics* (the study of ancient coins) to date the end of Phase 2. Above these coins was a layer of ashes, suggesting that the site was severely burned, apparently near the date 68 C.E. Roman-style trilobate arrows were also found. Further above these ashes were five coins from the year 69 C.E. Based upon these ashes and arrowheads, de Vaux concluded that in 68 C.E. the Romans had attacked the site, in the years in which they captured the lands around Jerusalem, just prior to its siege and eventual destruction. Whoever the mysterious occupants of Qumran were, their story ended around 68 C.E. with blazes of fire and a shower of Roman arrows.

PHASE 3

The final phase of occupation at the site saw Roman soldiers stationed there. They built some additional buildings for barracks in the southwestern area of earlier structures, and Roman coins minted in Caesarea and Dora were found within these areas of reconstruction. The end of this phase may well have occurred after the fall of Masada in 73/74, when the Romans no longer needed to maintain a military outpost to secure the northwestern coast of the Dead Sea. Some evidence suggests that a generation later the site was also used during the Second Jewish Revolt, possibly by Jewish rebels.

De Vaux's excavation of Qumran decisively changed prevailing opinions about the nature of this site. Earlier, many had been content to accept conjectures that the site had been a Roman fortification of the first century C.E. Therefore, no one had originally foreseen the possibility that there was any relationship between Qumran and the caves where the Scrolls had been found. The excavations of de Vaux, however, had proven that the site had been occupied over one century earlier than previously imagined, probably during the reign of Simon or John Hyrcanus. The site had not even been occupied by Romans until after 68 C.E. The history of the site, as de Vaux had now come to retrace it, also coincided with the same era in which the scrolls of the surrounding caves had originally been copied. Additional discoveries would further link the site, the caves, and the Scrolls.

Qumran archaeology remains a vibrant field of study and debate. This is especially the case since de Vaux did not publish a comprehensive edition of all his finds but rather a series of essays and lectures that announced his own conclusions regarding the site. Only recently, through the work of J.-B. Humbert, A. Chambon, and Stephen Pfann, have his collected notes, sketches, and photographic plates been made fully accessible to study.³ One is not surprised, therefore, that there have been criticisms of his work and alternative proposals regarding the nature of the site. Some criticisms focus on how de Vaux understood the function of the site and its particular buildings. Rival assessments have argued, for example, that Qumran was not the center of the same religious community that preserved the Scrolls but rather a fortress (Golb), villa (Donceel and Donceel-Voûte), fortified manor house (Hirschfeld), or commercial *entrepôt* (Crown and Cansdale). The site may also have served multiple uses in its long history for more than one group (Humbert).

Others have raised doubts about de Vaux's chronology. Since ten coins from the days of Herod's reign were found at the site, some scholars have questioned the "abandonment" of Qumran from 31–4 B.C.E.⁴ One may certainly imagine a decrease in population, but many scholars have had difficulty accepting a complete abandonment. Most important, there remain lingering questions about

precisely when the site was first inhabited in the Hellenistic period. The evidence prior to Phase 1b is, indeed, meager, and de Vaux's estimation of roughly 140 B.C.E. as the beginning has, therefore, lacked the certainty for which one might have hoped. Jodi Magness has even proposed that habitation at Qumran may not have begun until around 100 B.C.E., although she otherwise reaffirms many of de Vaux's original claims.

Despite these and other criticisms, however, most archaeologists have found it difficult to surmount the abundant numismatic, historical, and residual evidence that set the history of the site in the general era proposed by de Vaux. His proposals, taken in their broad contours, thus remain the most widely accepted critical theory regarding the history of the ruin at Qumran.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE SITE

Although no scrolls were found among the ruins at Qumran, de Vaux's work unearthed several structures that have remained the object of some debate. From the beginning it was de Vaux's opinion that the group of structures that had arisen on the site never served as residence halls or barracks. Most of the rooms at the site were long and slender. This suggested that they had been crafted in order to accommodate gatherings for a larger community, not private residential quarters. Whoever had been active at Qumran, in fact, probably never lived in large numbers at the site itself. Unfortunately, de Vaux was never able to discover precisely where ancient visitors to the site might have lived. Instead, he conjectured that they most likely dwelt in temporary shelters surrounding the site or in some of the nearby caves.⁵ Since the site was progressively expanded over time for functional purposes, it is hardly an example of architectural genius. It is characterized by rugged practicality, not aesthetic ambition. Nevertheless, several very interesting structures were found at the site. Their characteristics remain important for understanding the nature of the group that shaped Qumran into its communal meeting place.

THE TOWER

The most dominating structure one encounters when first visiting Qumran is the imposing tower located on the northern perimeter of the site. According to the reconstruction of de Vaux, the tower was built in Phase 1b and further strengthened with a formidable belt of stones in Phase 2. The tower remains the principal reason why some archaeologists have maintained that Qumran was a fortress during the Second Temple period. If Qumran had been a fortress, however, it would not have been a very good one. Beyond the tower, the exterior walls of the site are too thin to have been intentionally designed as a fortifica-

tion. Based upon some important architectural similarities to contemporary manor houses (e.g., Horvat 'Eleq), Yizhar Hirschfeld has argued that the architecture of Qumran is best understood as a "fortified manor house," a square complex forming a central courtyard, with a security tower on the perimeter. Of course, Qumran possesses archi-



The Tower at Qumran

tectural features not found among these "manor houses," as well. At the end of Phase 2, when Qumran was destroyed, the tower seems to have offered some protection to the areas immediately south and east of the tower. These areas did not suffer the same extent of Roman devastation as those farther away from the tower. The Romans were, in fact, able to restructure the areas in the immediate shadows of the tower during their own occupation of the site.

THE SCRIPTORIUM

One of the most important areas that de Vaux excavated at Qumran was a narrow, two-story room virtually in the center of the entire site. Within the room he found the remains of a second story that had collapsed at the end of Phase 2. Included within the ruins were the remains of small benches, a table, and two inkwells. Given the nature of these remains, he concluded that the upper story of this structure had been a scriptorium, a room where ancient manuscripts were copied. Scribes would have sat on low benches that had been fixed to the wall. Inkwells indicated that writing took place there. Tables were also used. What kind of writing had taken place here? With thousands of scroll fragments from the same historical period just across the terrace in Caves 4–10, de Vaux could only conclude that this was the very room in which many of the Dead Sea Scrolls had been copied.

Recently, alternative theories for the ancient function of "Locus 30" (de Vaux's Scriptorium) have been proposed. Pauline Donceel-Voûte and Robert Donceel have proposed that this two-story structure was a *triclinium*, or ancient banqueting hall, and that the larger site of Qumran was an aristocratic villa. The "benches" and "tables," in turn, were used for serving meals, not copying scrolls.

Hirschfeld similarly supports the theory that in Herodian times Qumran was inhabited by an aristocratic family and its servants. Recently bolstering their claims, Yuval Peleg and Itzhak Magen have reported in international media that jewelry, cosmetic containers, and imported glass have been discovered at the site—the kinds of *realia* one would expect to find at an aristocratic manor, not an isolated religious settlement. Several details, however, prevent this proposal from



Inside the Locus 30, the “Scriptorium”

surmounting the original assessment of de Vaux. Comparison with contemporary sites such as Jericho lead to the observation that if Qumran had been a villa, it was not a very good one, and it was in a poor location. Furthermore, architectural similarities between Qumran and contemporary estate complexes do not prove that they were used for the same purposes or inhabited by the same kinds of people; they may both simply have been making use of a popular building plan. Although the precise uses of the “benches” and “tables” of Locus 30 remain uncertain, we can at least be sure that they were hardly capable of sustaining luxuriant aristocratic feasts. The villa theory also fails to account for the fact that throughout the entire site of Qumran it is primarily in this location that inkwells were discovered. Inkwells may, admittedly, be used for a variety of purposes, not exclusively copying scrolls, but the inkwells make it difficult to quibble with de Vaux’s basic claim that the room had an explicitly scribal function.⁶

THE WATER SYSTEM

Those who visit Qumran during the summer months will immediately recognize the need for water. Those who utilized the site were equally aware of this problem and developed an extensive series of water channels and cisterns. During the Iron Age, a circular cistern had already been dug. Those who dramatically expanded the site during Phase 1b built additional cisterns, which they linked together through a series of water channels. These cisterns were square and rectangular, unlike the circular cistern of the Iron Age. Supplying the entire series of cisterns was an aqueduct that ran several hundred feet to the west. It

gathered the waters that ran down from the cliffs during the raining season and carried them into the water channels that meandered through the heart of the site. The system was sealed with plaster and covered with stone slabs to keep water from escaping. Several of the cisterns probably also served as ritual baths, or *miqva'ot*, especially those that have steps (Loci 138, 118, 117, 56, 48, 71). Stairs leading down into the cisterns allowed for descent and ascent. In the Torah, ritual

purity required lustration. Numerous sites from the Second Temple period attest stepped ritual bathing pools to accomplish this purpose. In comparison with contemporary sites, the pools at Qumran are typically larger, probably because they served the interests of an entire community rather than an individual household. The extensive water system at Qumran suggests that ritual bathing was a high priority of the group that utilized the site.



Locus 56, *Miqveh* Near the Assembly Hall

THE ASSEMBLY HALL

The largest room found at Qumran is located in the south of the complex (22 m long). Like the Scriptorium, it is long and narrow. It is bounded on three sides by cisterns. The extension of the water system into this area of the site also allowed the large room to be cleansed by waters channeled through it, at least during Phase 1b. Due to its size, de Vaux suggested that this room served as an assembly hall and dining area. This interpretation was based on the presence of over a thousand pottery vessels unearthed in an adjoining room that probably served as a pantry. He further identified another room, across the complex to the north, as a kitchen. Buried in the ground throughout the site were also jars containing animal bones that may have provided meals at Qumran (sheep, goats, and cattle). The identification of an assembly hall offered further support for the theory that Qumran was not a residential complex but rather a central meeting place for larger groups who visited the site.

Finally, one may note what is missing from the architecture. There are no mosaics, no architectural gardens, no bathhouses. Individual building stones are roughly finished, not polished to perfection. They remain equally rough on the interior. Extended colonnades and stoas were not incorporated into the architecture. Instead, privacy, interiority, and practicality seem to have been the principles that guided the architecture of Qumran.



Locus 77, Assembly Hall

THE SITE, THE CAVES, AND THE SCROLLS

In light of the manuscript discoveries in the nearby caves, the most pressing question for Qumran archaeology remains, What was the relationship between this site and the Dead Sea Scrolls? The excavation by de Vaux led to the conclusion that there was a vital relationship between Qumran and the Scrolls. There were numerous reasons for this conclusion, each of which has served to build a cumulative case that favors a strong relationship between the site, the caves, and the Scrolls.

First of all, de Vaux was able to identify at Qumran remains of the same kind of pottery that had been found in the caves. Not unlike a forensic detective using DNA evidence to connect the suspect with the crime scene, de Vaux had used pottery fragments to link Qumran with the caves and their precious contents. The cylindrical style of pottery found at Qumran and in the caves, in fact, is rare among other specimens of pottery from this era. It was de Vaux's opinion that such cylindrical vessels were even manufactured in pottery kilns excavated in the eastern portion of Qumran (Loci 64–66, 84). Since these cylindrical jars had also been used to store scrolls, the pottery also linked Qumran to the manuscripts discovered in Cave 1.

Second, de Vaux provided further support for this link through his identification of the Scriptorium and its inkwells. Those who utilized the site dedicated an entire structure for the performance of scribal tasks. This dramatically raised the

level of probability that the Qumran group was specifically interested in the copying and preservation of manuscripts, including many that were found in the caves themselves.

Third, Qumran is simply the site closest to the caves; it is centrally located within the larger string of caves that run along a north-south axis from the site, and Caves 7–9 can, in fact, be accessed only through the site. One must go south to Ein Gedi, north to Jericho, or across the Dead Sea to find the remains of other contemporary communities. Those who deny the relationship between the site and the caves often claim that refugees from Jerusalem carried their scrolls out into the Judean wilderness and hid them there. This, however, seems to be a tortured explanation with Qumran itself so nearby.

Fourth, the historical stages of activity at Qumran generally correspond to the periods in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were copied. Although some Dead Sea Scrolls were probably copied prior to the earliest possible date for Phase 1a (ca. 140 B.C.E.), the vast majority of manuscripts fall within the same era that de Vaux had proposed for Phases 1 and 2 (ca. 140 B.C.E.–68 C.E.). This indicates that the paleographical dates of the manuscripts generally correspond with the numismatic evidence (evidence based on the dates of ancient coinage) discovered at the site. This correspondence remains relatively strong, even if one prefers Magness's late date for the occupation of the site.

Fifth, an inscribed potsherd, or ostrakon, found at Qumran's eastern wall in 1996 may even link Qumran with the *Rule of the Community* from Cave 1. According to the reconstruction of Frank M. Cross and Esther Eshel, this ostrakon preserves reference to a donation made "to the Yaḥad"—the same term used to describe the religious "Community" whose regulations are preserved in the *Rule*.⁷ More than this, the *Rule* even contains regulations for accepting the very kinds of donations referred to in the ostrakon (6.13–24). If their reconstruction is correct, then this ostrakon would link the site Qumran with the scrolls of Cave 1, the cylindrical pottery in which they were stored, and the same religious community whose ideology is preserved in the *Rule*.

It may be possible that in time, with further discoveries in the region, additional proposals will be found for understanding the relationships between Qumran, the nearby caves, and their manuscripts. Some specialists today are willing to consider the possibility that several groups might have placed manuscripts in the caves, with the Qumran group being the most prominent.



Inkwell from Qumran.
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Nevertheless, given the cumulative evidence that has surfaced thus far from the caves, the site, and the Scrolls themselves, the probability remains with de Vaux's original claim: those who developed Qumran in Hellenistic-Roman times copied many of the Scrolls and stored them in the caves along the Dead Sea. The following chapter will introduce the most important proposals for understanding the identity and history of this mysterious group whose writings have been preserved in the Scrolls.

THE CEMETERY

An important source for determining what kind of group utilized Qumran is the cemetery, which de Vaux discovered in his excavations. Given the lengthy span of activity at Qumran over two centuries, it is reasonable that those who had utilized the site would have needed a place to bury their dead. Located about 40 meters outside Qumran's eastern wall was a cemetery of eleven hundred unmarked graves, neatly organized on a north-south axis, with the heads of the deceased pointing to the south. These graves contained the remains of individuals, not families; they were dug into the ground in trenches 5–7 feet deep, with adjoining burial shelves at the bottom ("shaft tombs"); and each grave was covered with stones, possibly to prevent scavenging by predatory animals. Some contained the remains of wooden coffins. A group of graves on the far eastern perimeter of the cemetery differed slightly from the north-south orientation. In addition to these graves, de Vaux found other smaller burial sites to the north (twelve graves) and south (thirty graves) of Qumran. The human remains show no signs of violent death.

When de Vaux excavated twenty-six (some report twenty-eight) graves from numerous areas in the main section neatly organized along the north-south axis, he found that all human remains that could be identified were male. In the far eastern perimeter, however, the remains of six women and one child were discovered. The remains of women and children were also found in the burial sites to the north and south. Altogether, no female remains were found within the main section of graves organized on the north-south axis. These finds raise numerous questions. Was the Qumran group all male? Was it celibate? Or did males cohabit with women while they were near the site? Is the sample size of twenty-six out of eleven hundred graves (only 2 percent) even sufficient to answer the question at all? De Vaux concluded that the Qumran group was celibate, based upon his excavation of the main Qumran cemetery and the reports of ancient historians (see below, chapter 3). Yet other scholars (Schiffman, Schuller) have cited the female graves in outlying areas as evidence that members of the group might have cohabited with women.

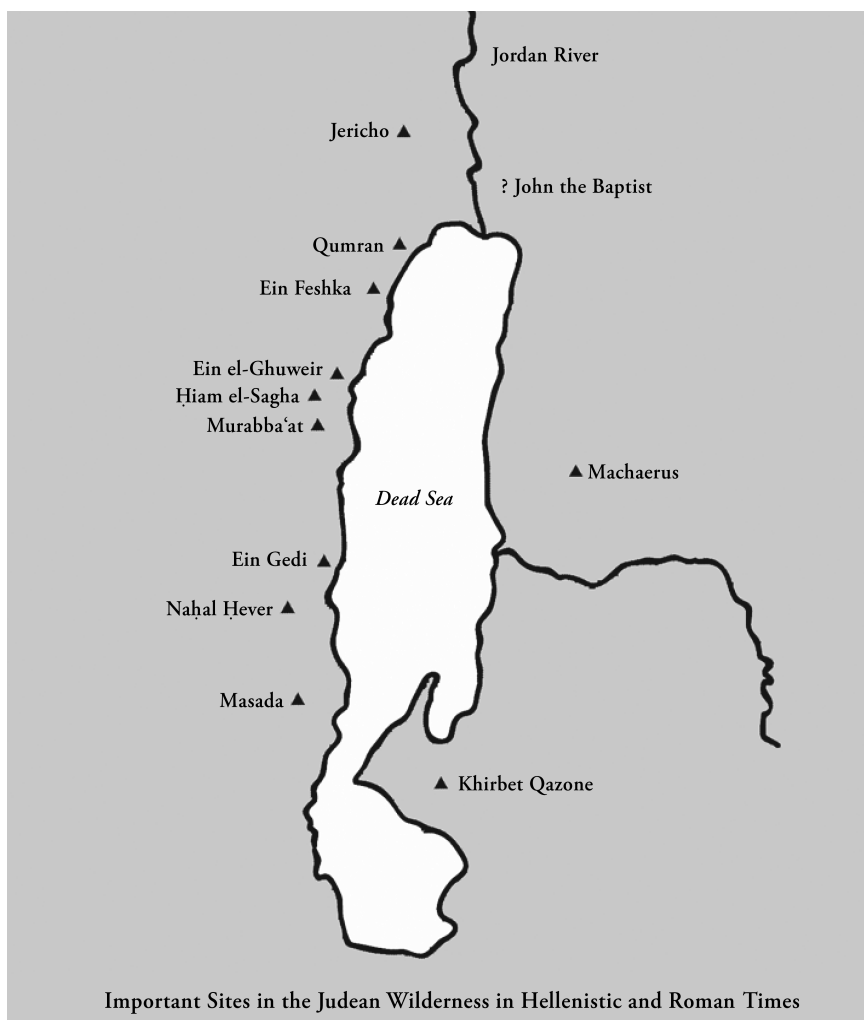
Recently, forensic archaeologist Joe Zias has placed what may prove the final nail in the coffin of this debate. Returning to this issue with technologies not available during de Vaux's excavations, Zias examined the remains of numerous female skeletons. By comparing the remains of their graves with bedouin burials at Tell el-Hesi, he found that these were the remains of women who lived, not during the period of the Qumran group, but rather centuries later in post-Byzantine times. Presenting his finds at the 1999 Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Zias shifted the scales of probability toward the conclusion that the Qumran group did not include women. His recently published finds, of course, will continue to undergo critical review. Susan Sheridan, for example, continues to study additional human remains (perhaps) from Qumran housed in Jerusalem. Her finds, as interpreted by Jodi Magness, offer only small qualification to Zias's study: only two female skeletons may even possibly be identified with the main group of tombs oriented along a north-south axis, and there remain doubts as to whether the remains do, in fact, derive from these same tombs. This has led Magness to conclude that although women may conceivably have been present at Qumran in ancient times, they constituted a small minority.⁸ As Zias's study continues to undergo review, the results currently point toward the conclusion that the Qumran group was almost completely male and possibly celibate. The nature of this question remains crucial to identifying the Qumran group, as chapter 3 will indicate.

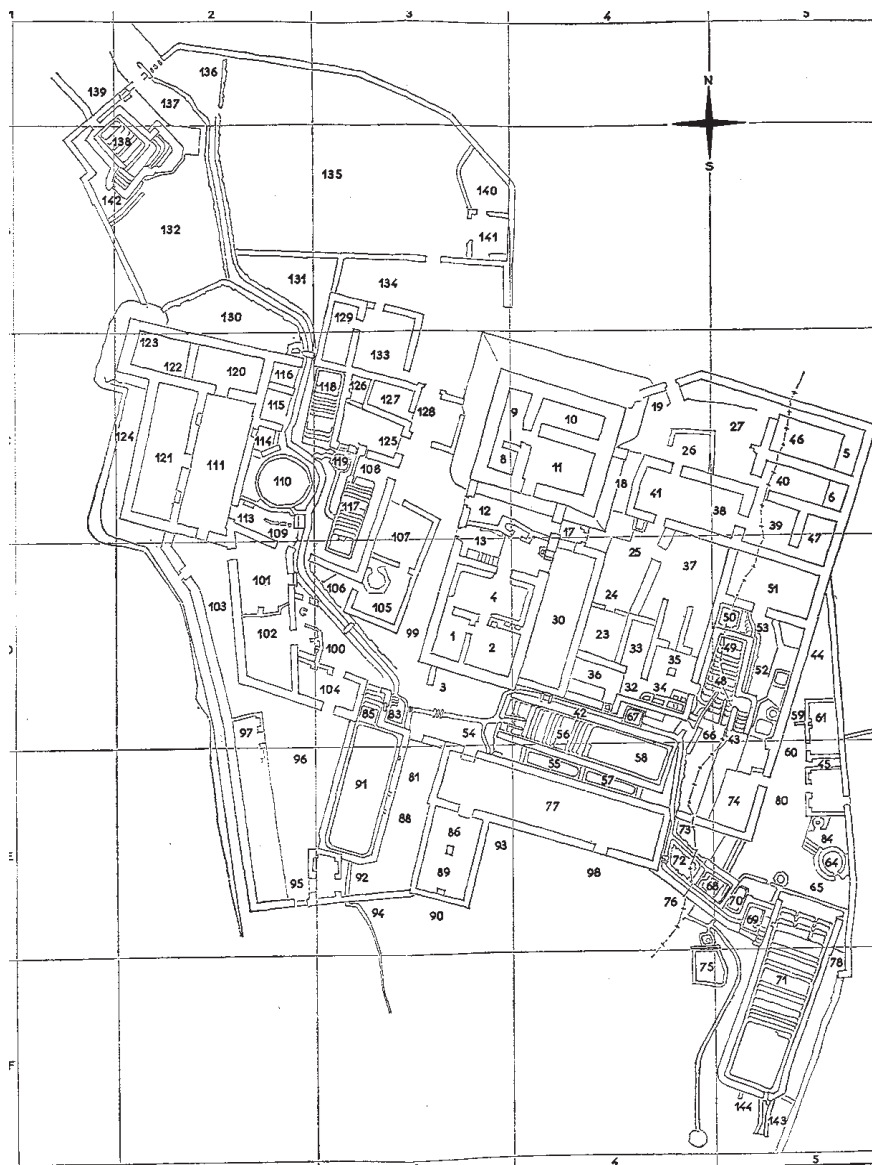
In addition to the question of gender, the cemetery at Qumran has also raised questions about the form and orientation of the graves. Similar shaft tombs have thus far been identified only at Ein el-Ghuweir, Hiam el-Sagha, Jericho, southern Jerusalem, and Khirbet Qazone (see map below). This style of burial seems otherwise to have been quite rare. On this basis, some scholars have proposed that this unique style of burial may link the Qumran group with those interred at these other burial sites. It is also possible, on the other hand, that this mode of burial was simply local to this region, perhaps as a guard against the desecration of graves by scavenging animals. One may also ask why those who organized the Qumran cemetery so carefully buried their dead along a north-south axis. Émile Puech has provided an interesting proposal for answering this question. Based upon his exhaustive study of ancient beliefs in resurrection of the dead, immortality, and eternal life, Puech has proposed that the Qumran group may have buried their dead according to an ancient belief that Paradise was located in cosmic regions far to the north. This ancient legend is, in fact, attested in the pseudepigraphon *1 Enoch* (23–25, 70), portions of which were found among the Scrolls. Puech's explanation provides at least some ancient rationale, rooted in the content of the Scrolls themselves, for why the graves were so carefully aligned toward the north. Although his proposal remains con-

jecture, a more thorough explanation for the orientation of these rare graves has not yet been proposed.

QUMRAN AND OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

While Qumran is an isolated site, it was not all alone in the desert. The Jewish historian Josephus tells of numerous groups who ventured out into “the wilderness” during the same era in which the Qumran group was active. The New Testament also situates Jesus and John the Baptist in this region (see





De Vaux's schematic reconstruction of all Qumran Loci from Phases 1b and 2 (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pl. XXXIX). Iron Age Cistern (110), Tower (8–11), Scriptorium (30), Kiln (64), Assembly Hall (77), stepped bathing pools or miqva'ot (138, 118, 117, 56, 48, 71).

chapter 7). Far from being a zone of complete isolation, the wilderness of Judea often became a sacred landscape in which many of the great religious and political dramas of the age were played out. One is not surprised, therefore, that remains from other sites have been discovered within the Judean wilderness. Indeed, as de Vaux himself commented when new discoveries were being made throughout the region, “the west bank of the Dead Sea was more thickly populated than we have been accustomed to imagine.”⁹ The relationships between Qumran and these other sites remain a pressing question in current research.

EIN FESHKHA

South of Qumran, de Vaux discovered a small agricultural settlement that developed around a central water source. Since it was inhabited during the same period, he proposed that this site may well have supplied food, especially dates, for Qumran. That dates were consumed at Qumran has possibly been confirmed by the discovery of a date press at the site and some remains from the caves.¹⁰ Ein Feshkha may also have served other industrial purposes, possibly containing a tannery, where some of the leather parchment of the Scrolls could have been prepared. Others conjecture that basins at the site were used for preparing indigo dye. Neither manuscripts nor Qumran-style pottery, however, were found at Ein Feshkha, and thus its precise relation to Qumran remains an open question.

EIN EL-GHUWEIR

Some nine miles south of Qumran, Pesach Bar-Adon excavated the remains of a building that contained a porch with a row of stone columns, a kitchen, and a granary. The ruins date to the Roman period. Like Qumran and Ein Feshkha, the ruins at Ein el-Ghuweir were probably destroyed during the political turmoil of 68 C.E. Due to its location and the nature of the preserved remains, it has been impossible to confirm any clear connection between this site and Qumran. Nevertheless, 800 meters north of the ruin a cemetery was discovered containing the remains of twelve men, seven women, and one child, buried individually along a north-south axis in shaft tombs and covered with stones. This cemetery thus preserves tombs that are identical in style to those of the main Qumran cemetery. At nearby Hiam el-Sagha, similar graves have been found. Despite their striking similarities, the relationship of these cemeteries to the Qumran cemetery remains unknown.

MASADA

Alongside Qumran, Masada presents the other great discovery of this era in the Judean wilderness. Like Qumran, the site had numerous stages in its history. The most important of these for Qumran studies is the period in which a group of Jewish revolutionaries, whom Josephus calls Sicarii (“knife-wielders”), took refuge at the site during the First Jewish Revolt (*War* 7.252–419). At Masada, the Sicarii cultivated their own distinctive form of communal life for almost a decade, until the site fell to the Romans (66–73/74 C.E.). Not only does Masada present a different kind of wilderness community to which Qumran may be compared in numerous respects; it also preserves biblical manuscripts from the same era, as well as fragments of Ben Sira and *Jubilees*. Since these manuscripts must have been copied prior to the fall of Masada, they provide corroborative evidence for determining the date and scribal features of the Scrolls themselves.

In addition, Masada preserves two documents found elsewhere only in the caves surrounding Qumran. First, Masada preserves the only extra-Qumran copy of a hymnbook called the *Angelic Liturgy*, also found in Caves 4 and 11. Second, Masada may also preserve a copy of a rewritten version of the book of Joshua that is similar to five manuscripts from among the Qumran Scrolls.¹¹ The presence of these two writings at Masada may point to one of two conclusions: someone with access to the Qumran writings brought these documents to Masada prior to its fall; or these two works were more widely known in antiquity than previously realized. This remains a matter of debate. Until these works are discovered elsewhere, however, probability rests with the first option: someone with access to the Qumran writings transported copies of the *Angelic Liturgy* and (perhaps) the *Apocryphon of Joshua* to Masada prior to its fall. When the *Liturgy* was discovered at Masada, Yigael Yadin originally proposed that its presence implied “the participation of members of the Qumran community ... in the revolt against Rome.”¹²

Others prefer to see the Qumran group as more



Masada: Last Stand of the Jewish Revolt

pacific. Perhaps, they conjecture, refugees from Qumran fled south to Masada at Qumran's destruction in 68 C.E. They brought with them whatever valuable possessions they could carry along, including copies of their sacred literature.

WADI MURABBA'AT

In the generation following the First Jewish Revolt, the Romans would once again clash with insurgent Jewish revolutionaries (132–135 C.E.). These rebels were active in the wilderness region and left behind them important documents in the high and virtually inaccessible caves along the Wadi Murabba'at several miles south of Qumran. The caves at Murabba'at preserve the remains of numerous biblical manuscripts. Also included in the finds were the priceless remains of administrative letters, personally signed by Shimeon Bar Kokhba, the leader of the Second Revolt. When publishing these materials, J. T. Milik found reference to a "fortress of the devout" (מצד חסדין), which he believed may have been a later geographical reference to Qumran and its earlier inhabitants.¹³ Recent studies have also proposed that at least seven writings antedate the Bar Kokhba Revolt and were probably brought into the caves at the end of the First Jewish Revolt.¹⁴

NAHAL HEVER

Similar finds dating from the period of the Second Revolt have been supplied in the manuscript discoveries at Naḥal Hever. In addition to important administrative and documentary materials, these finds have included important biblical manuscripts. Among these, the greatest find is the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll (8HevXIIgr), which preserves portions of Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah. This scroll, originally copied in the late first century B.C.E., provides one of our most important Greek biblical manuscripts from this era.

3

WHO LIVED AT QUMRAN AND WHAT WAS THEIR STORY?

As far as we know, no one actually “lived” at Qumran. Instead, the site was probably the headquarters of a movement whose members resided near the site. Who were these people? What was their history? And why did they choose Qumran to be the center of their activity? The present chapter introduces the “Qumran-Essene Hypothesis,” the critical model that has consistently provided the best explanation for the origins and identity of the Qumran group.

In order to unveil the identity of this mysterious religious community whose story was lost for centuries, scholars must balance evidence from a number of different sources. First, evidence from the Scrolls themselves must be considered. Those who composed the Scrolls left behind scattered references to their own history and identity in their writings. “Scattered,” however, is an appropriate description of much of this evidence, and thus other bodies of evidence must also be considered. Second, evidence from the archaeology of the site has provided important information about the historical context and physical environment in which the drama of the Qumran group was played out. Third, evidence from other ancient writings may help to identify the Qumran group and provide a more complete understanding of the historical context in which they lived.

THE BREAKUP OF A REVOLUTION

The history of the Qumran Community takes us to the tumultuous days of the Hellenistic reform movement in Judea (175 B.C.E.), the Maccabean Revolt (167–164 B.C.E.), and the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty. The fiery conflicts that swept through Judea during these days provided the crucible in which the identity and mission of the Qumran Community were forged.

These conflicts erupted when Palestine was ruled by the Seleucid Empire, one of the powerful Greek kingdoms that sought to succeed Alexander the Great after his death. From 175–164 B.C.E. this empire was ruled by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, a figure who would play an infamous role in the history of Judaism. As he strived to increase his power against his rivals in Rome and Ptolemaic

Egypt, Antiochus looked with great urgency upon Judea. To secure his power there, Antiochus promoted “Hellenization”—a program of spreading Greek law, culture, and religion. As he pursued this agenda, the emperor looked in Jerusalem itself for those who would support his cause, and he found considerable backing. After all, Hellenization was necessary to “stay with the times.” Jews in favor of Antiochus’s program joined together with him in a “Hellenistic reform movement.” Two new high priests, Jason and Menelaus, were even able to seize power over the temple by collaborating with Antiochus’s program. Those, on the other hand, who resisted Antiochus and the reform were instantly placed on the political margins: they defied the united will of Greek emperor and Jewish high priest.

Antiochus asserted his power over Judea by plundering the vast treasures of the Jerusalem temple. Later he returned to Jerusalem to promote a radically accelerated policy of Hellenization. Sabbath and circumcision were outlawed on penalty of death. Possession of Torah scrolls was prohibited. In the temple itself, sacrifices to Olympian Zeus were offered, an act of infamy that the book of Daniel calls the “abomination of desolation” (11:31; 12:11; 1 Macc 1:54–64). In order to enforce these reforms, Jerusalem was filled with Greek troops. Antiochus, together with his Jewish supporters, had set out to change Judaism forever and possibly to destroy it.

Resistance to Antiochus’s reforms, however, was swift and explosive. Initially, resistance seems to have been passive: a few suffered martyrdom while faithfully keeping the Torah (1 Macc 1:54–64; 2 Macc 6–7; 14:37–46). Violent political resistance followed when a minor priest named Mattathias initiated an armed rebellion. Mattathias’s resistance energized various groups into an insurgent struggle. A descendant of the priestly family of Joarib, Mattathias represented lower priestly classes that had been marginalized by the Hellenizing agenda of priestly elites like Jason and Menelaus. It is likely that similar priestly groups supported his cause. Further resisting the reform was another group described in the book of Daniel as “wise ones” (12:1–3). These were probably educated scribes and religious teachers whose vocations were threatened by Antiochus’s campaign against ancestral Jewish laws. A group called the *Hasidim*—“devout ones” or “pietists” (1 Macc 7:13)—also resisted the reform. The participation of these priests, scribes, and devout ones in the resistance is important for understanding the prehistory of the Qumran group, since its earliest members may originally have derived from some of these very parties. Alongside these groups and many from among the peasantry, Mattathias instigated a swift and effective guerilla revolt against Antiochus and the Hellenizing party. After his death, his son Judas Maccabeus (“the hammer”) would complete his work.

Judas Maccabeus won a series of unlikely battles against the generals of Antiochus. The infamous king’s death also decreased the momentum of the reform. These

factors eventually allowed Judas to take possession of the Jerusalem temple and rededicate it exclusively to the God of Israel. The Feast of Dedication, *Ḥanukkah*, first celebrated on the twenty-fifth of Chislev, the very day on which Antiochus had earlier defiled the temple, marked the successful end of the Maccabean Revolt (164). This national holiday, however, was not simply the end of the revolt but celebrated both the purification of the temple and the political leadership of the courageous family that had invested so much in its liberation. Rather than laying down the reins of revolution, Judas continued the fight beyond 164. He and his brothers after him continued to resist the control of the Seleucid Empire until they had successfully created their own independent Jewish kingdom centered in Jerusalem. The Feast of Dedication thus anticipated the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty, the new political order founded by the descendants of Mattathias.

The religious and political leadership of Palestine would remain in the Hasmonean family for the next century. By 152, Mattathias's son Jonathan became "high priest and ruler." The Hasmoneans thus controlled religious affairs of worship in the temple and possessed authority over civil, monetary, and military affairs outside of it. Jonathan's brother Simon succeeded him and further extended the family's power. The dynasty would reach its zenith under John Hyrcanus, the first son of one of the Maccabean brothers to succeed his father. John's son, Aristobulus, added the title "king" to that of "high priest." In the generations following Mattathias, it became progressively clear that his sons were fighting for more than Torah and temple: they fought until they had successfully established a kingdom that Antiochus himself might have coveted.

Not all the groups that originally resisted the reform approved of this arrangement. Many would have been satisfied to end the resistance with the rededication of the temple or with the end of radical Hellenization. Various groups had revolted with different ends in view, and as the Hasmoneans enlarged their own political and religious authority, these groups would go their separate ways. In time, the revolutionary movement led by the Maccabees began to break up. According to the Jewish historian Josephus, resistance to the Hasmoneans had already intensified by the end of John Hyrcanus's reign. Religious leaders demanded that John "lay down the high priesthood and content yourself with the governance of the people" (*Ant.* 13.290–291). Such opposition even led to "an uprising in the country," "a war" (*War* 1.67; cf. *Ant.* 13.299). It is also in these very days that Josephus first mentions separatist religious parties such as the Pharisees and Essenes (*War* 1.76–80; *Ant.* 13.171, 288–313), who cultivated their own pursuit of the Torah apart from the official channels of religion controlled by the Hasmoneans. In the next generation, resistance escalated throughout the reign of Alexander Jannaeus:

his own people were rebellious against him; for at a festival which was then being celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrifice, the

nation rose upon him, and pelted him with citrons, which they had in their hands.... They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity and of sacrificing. (*Ant.* 13.372)

Jannaeus, in turn, fought back. The result was a bloody reign in which he is reported to have killed “no fewer than fifty thousand Jews in six years” (*War* 1.91; cf. *Ant.* 13.375–377). Although Judas had won a decisive victory over radical Hellenization, his successors found it increasingly difficult to secure a lasting political and religious dominion in the land.

The decades following the Maccabean Revolt are important for understanding the Qumran Community on numerous levels. First, both archaeology and the date of numerous scrolls indicate that the Qumran group had already become active by the reign of John Hyrcanus or Alexander Jannaeus. The formative environment of the Qumran Community is, therefore, to be found in the early days of the Hasmonean dynasty. Second, the gradual fragmentation of Palestinian society after 164 may explain why this group separated itself from Jerusalem, the seat of Hasmonean authority, and traveled into the wilderness to cultivate a different form of religious life. The Scrolls indicate that their authors rejected the religious authority of those who presided over the Jerusalem temple. During this historical period, the polemic can only have been leveled at the Hasmoneans and their supporters. Finally, those who composed the Scrolls remained stubbornly resistant to Hellenism. This resistance may well reflect the lingering memory of the reform.

When these factors of historical environment are taken into consideration, they often lead scholars to conclude that the Qumran Community must have been a religious movement that grew increasingly disillusioned with the Hasmoneans during the decades following the Maccabean Revolt. Rather than taking up armed resistance against them, as later opponents would, the Qumran group expressed their rejection of the new order more quiescently: they retreated into the wilderness, where they would pursue the Torah in purity, separated from the pervasive religious corruption of the world around them.

THE QUMRAN-ESSENE HYPOTHESIS

Scholars have attempted to unveil the identity of the Qumran group by piecing together references in ancient historians. Such references have led to a working hypothesis that the Qumran Community was a group of “Essenes.” The Essenes were a Jewish religious party that took shape after the Maccabean Revolt and cultivated their own distinctive practices, alongside other religious parties that were forming in the same era, such as the Pharisees and Sadducees. This model for understanding the identity of the Qumran Community is called the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis, first suggested by Eleazar Sukenik in

the immediate wake of the earliest scroll discoveries. The hypothesis maintains that Qumran was developed by a supremely strict group of Essenes and that this very group was primarily responsible for copying and preserving the Dead Sea Scrolls. Two writings, the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*, have been instrumental in linking the Scrolls with what ancient historians have reported about the Essenes. The literary evidence for the hypothesis includes the following sources.

The first piece of the puzzle comes to us from Pliny the Elder, a Roman geographer of the late first century C.E. In his description of the Judean wilderness, Pliny mentions a group living near the Dead Sea, north of Ein Gedi:

On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of range of the noxious exhalations of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm trees for company. Day by day the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number by numerous accessions of persons tired of life and driven by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners.... Lying below them was formerly the town of Ein Gedi, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm trees; but now like Jerusalem, a heap of ashes. (*Nat.* 5.73)

There are several outstanding features of this description. First, Pliny situates an Essene community north of Ein Gedi along the western coast of the Dead Sea—precisely the location of Qumran. Second, he describes the group as intentionally isolated from external society. This includes the renunciation of relations with women, a detail that fits well with the archaeological evidence of the main Qumran cemetery. Avoidance of money provides another expression of the Essene separation from external society. The Scrolls themselves corroborate the independent report of Pliny, since they warn against possessing the wicked wealth and unclean property of outsiders (*Rule of the Community* 5.1–20; *Damascus Document* 4.17; 6.15; 8.5; 13.14–16; 19.17). Third, Pliny wrote after 70 C.E. How, then, could he have identified Essenes living in this region, when Qumran was probably destroyed in 68 C.E.? Although he would not complete the *Natural History* until 77 C.E., Pliny relied on sources that describe the Dead Sea prior to 68 (see *Nat.* 1.5). Stephen Goranson, in fact, has shown how Pliny relied on the reports of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a governor of Syria who composed a commentary on this region during the reign of Herod the Great (ca. 15 B.C.E.).¹

Corroborating evidence for placing an Essene community in the general area of Qumran derives from Dio Chrysostom, a traveling rhetorician who lived roughly 40–112 C.E. According to Synesius of Cyrene (ca. 400 C.E.), Dio “praises the Essenes, who form a full and prosperous city near the Dead Sea, in the middle of Palestine, not far from Sodom” (Synesius, *Dio* 3.2).

Philo of Alexandria (20 B.C.E.–45 C.E.), an important Jewish philosopher, also provides important details about Essene beliefs and practices (*Good Person* 75–80; see also *Contempl. Life* 1–3; *Hypoth.* 11). According to Philo, the Essene movement extended throughout Syria and Palestine, comprising about four thousand persons. Essenes avoided cities and gathered in “villages.” They rejected the acquisition of wealth, a feature common to Pliny and the Scrolls.

By far the most detailed ancient description of the Essenes comes to us from Josephus, who provides two extensive descriptions of their beliefs and practices (*War* 2.119–161; *Ant.* 18.18–22). They are included in a new translation as an appendix to this chapter. Josephus does not directly situate Essenes near the Dead Sea, like Pliny and Dio. Nevertheless, at least six aspects of his description can be corroborated in some general way by the Scrolls themselves.

MARRIAGE

Like Pliny, Josephus describes Essenes as an all-male, celibate society (*War* 2.120–121; *Ant.* 18.21), yet he also knows of some Essenes who do practice marriage (*War* 2.160–161). Thus, within the larger Essene movement there seems to have been a division on the question of marriage, with some practicing celibacy and others favoring marriage. It is easy to see how Essenes might differ from one another on this issue. The Scrolls may well reflect such a divided verdict on marriage. The complete absence of any regulations regarding women and marriage in the *Rule of the Community* strongly suggests that it was written for celibate men who had no need of such rulings. The archaeology of the main Qumran cemetery also indicates that those who occupied the site were predominantly, if not entirely, male. The *Damascus Document*, on the other hand, does seem to have been written with male and female in view. This writing may have passed on the teachings of the Essene movement for both married and celibate persons alike (see 4.15–5.11; 7.6–9; 16.10–12).²

POSSESSIONS

Like Pliny and Philo, Josephus confirms that Essenes rejected personal possessions (*War* 2.122; *Ant.* 18.20; cf. *War* 2.124–127). They devoted their property to the Community when joining it, so that possessions were shared among members. The *Rule of the Community* specifically describes how the property of those joining the Community was to be incorporated (6.16–25). The ostrakon discovered at Qumran in 1996 may well preserve evidence of these practices. It is no small coincidence that the main Qumran cemetery preserves no burial that is distinguished from the others by signs of conspicuous wealth.

PURITY

Josephus's description accentuates the strict purity of the Essenes. They considered oil defiling (*War* 2.123); they required daily purification in water and meals eaten in purity (2.129–130, 137–140); they demanded special control over bodily functions (2.147–149); and they observed “a different ritual of purification” than other Jews (*Ant.* 18.19). The *Rule of the Community* contains similar directions regarding purification in water (3.3–6, 8–9; 5.13), consuming food (6.16–25; 7.3, 16–25; 8.17–24) and water (6.20–21; 7.20) in purity, and even the avoidance of spitting (7.13). The archaeology of Qumran, with its *miqva'ot* and communal dining hall, indicates that such regulations could have been practiced with ease at the site. Many documents also treat the Community's disagreements with other Jews regarding purity (*Some of the Works of the Torah* B 55–58; cf. *Damascus Document* 12.14–18; *Ordinances*^b frg. 13 line 4).

ORDER

Many disciplines united Essene communities. Prayer and worship structured each day, at the dawning of the sun, before meals, and after them (*War* 2.128–133). Major collections of prayers and hymns among the Scrolls, such as the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *Angelic Liturgy*, indicate that Qumran was the site of a worshipping community. Many of these prayers were even coordinated to the rising of the sun and astronomical phenomena (*Rule of the Community* 10.1–15; cf. *Daily Prayers*). Josephus claims that Essenes organized speech very carefully. Members spoke in turn, and silence was highly esteemed (*War* 2.132–133, 146). Passages of the *Rule of the Community* treat the proper order of speaking and the importance of silence (6.10–14; 7.9–15). Finally, Josephus observes that the egalitarian order of the Essenes was enforced by “superiors” of various kinds (*War* 2.123, 125; *Ant.* 18.22). The *Rule of the Community* makes frequent reference to “Examiners” (6.12, 20), “Instructors” (3.13; 9.12, 21), “priests” and “Levites” (1.18–2.25; 5.8–9; 6.2–14; 7.2; 8.1; cf. 5.21; 9.7) who were responsible for the discipline of the Community (5.23). Expulsion from the order (*War* 2.143–144) was also the penalty for several transgressions in the *Rule* (7.1–2, 16–17, 23–25; 8.22–23).

WRITINGS

Essenes were tireless students of “the compositions of the ancients,” and they were required to preserve “the books of the community” (*War* 2.136–142, 159). The *Rule of the Community* commands sessions where there must be present “a man who studies the Torah, day and night, each man relieving his brother.”

The third watch of each night was also dedicated “for the reading of the Book” (6.6–8). The Scriptorium, its inkwells, and the Scrolls themselves may also corroborate the importance of scribal activity at Qumran.

NOVITIATE

Josephus describes a three-year novitiate, or progressive initiation, into the Essene movement (*War* 2.137–142). The *Rule of the Community* also requires a novitiate that differs slightly from Josephus’s report. After a period of examination, a prospective member was provisionally admitted to the Community, yet he had no access to the pure meals or property of full members for one year. After this year, he was examined again. If successful, he was granted access to meals, yet he did not gain full membership and access to the “drink of the Congregation” for another year (6.13–23).³ Compared with the *Rule of the Community*, Josephus’s novitiate could take a year longer, his oath was in a different order, and the roles of food and drink differed. Rather than being disappointed with Josephus’s description, however, one marvels that these regulations could be so similar to each other, since the Qumran Community zealously guarded the secrecy of its teachings from outsiders.

Additional details from Josephus’s report can be corroborated by the Scrolls, including belief in an afterlife, predeterminism, and secrecy. Other details have not been corroborated by the Scrolls, such as their medical interests.⁴ Thus, Josephus’s description is not a flawless statement of what any individual Dead Sea Scroll may teach us about the Qumran Community. At least three factors may account for such discrepancies. (1) Josephus studied the doctrines of the Essenes as a young man (*Life* 1–3), yet he was never a member of the Qumran Community and, therefore, never learned their own distinctive teachings. (2) The strict practices of the Qumran Essenes probably made them different from other Essenes. (3) Josephus’s descriptions are often Hellenized in order to make Judaism appear laudable to Greeks and Romans; thus, in other writings he likens the Essenes to Pythagoreans (*Ant.* 15.371; cf. *Life* 12). These factors may explain why Josephus’s description is not perfectly accurate, while still accounting for its surprising precision on the whole.

Finally, another important description of Essenes is recorded by the early Christian writer Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–236 c.e.). In his *Refutation of All Heresies*, he includes a description of the Essenes that is very similar to that of Josephus. The similarities have often led scholars to affirm that both Josephus and Hippolytus used an ancient source when composing their accounts.⁵ An important difference, however, emerges between the two reports. Hippolytus claims that Essenes believed in the resurrection of the physical body, not simply in immortality (cf. *War* 2.152–158). Two Qumran manuscripts contain evi-

dence of belief in resurrection and may confirm Hippolytus's description as the superior account: the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.⁶

These and other correspondences between the Essenes, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls originally led Eleazar Sukenik to propose that the newly discovered manuscripts were, indeed, the work of an Essene community. Over time, the greatest strength of the hypothesis has been that it can be supported on the basis of several independent bodies of evidence, including ancient historians, archaeology, and the Scrolls themselves. The hypothesis, of course, remains sufficiently broad that scholars have developed its implications in a number of different directions. Further, the mere identification of Qumran with the "Essenes" does not tell us everything about their ideology and history. This can only be determined through a direct reading of the Scrolls themselves.

Alternative proposals have also been offered. Early after the discovery, Cecil Roth proposed that the Qumran writings were composed by later Jewish revolutionaries.⁷ Golb has argued that the Scrolls were left by Jerusalem refugees; Qumran itself was unassociated with the writings.⁸ Hirschfeld situates Pliny's Essenes near Ein Gedi, while he imagines an aristocratic family at Qumran, not a religious community.⁹ Based on *Some of the Works of the Torah*, Lawrence Schiffman has contended that the Community was of Sadducean origin, since the content of this legal writing mirrors later reports about the Sadducees in the *Mishnah* (*m. Yad. 4*).¹⁰ In the end, however, Sukenik's early identification has endured, supported by a broad variety of evidences. Frank Cross once offered this astute assessment of alternative hypotheses:

The scholar who would "exercise caution" in identifying the sect of Qumran with the Essenes places himself in an astonishing position: he must suggest seriously that the two major parities formed communistic religious communities in the same district of the desert of the Dead Sea and lived together in effect for two centuries, holding similar bizarre views, performing similar or rather identical lustrations, ritual meals, and ceremonies. He must suppose that one, carefully described by classical authors, disappeared without leaving building remains or even potsherds behind: the other, systematically ignored by classical authors, left extensive ruins, and indeed a great library. I prefer to be reckless and flatly identify the men of Qumran with their perennial houseguests, the Essenes.¹¹

Broadly considered, the Qumran-Essene hypothesis remains the most widely accepted identification of the Qumran group.

THE RIGHTEOUS TEACHER AND HIS ADVERSARIES

The previous two sections have provided the most important information about Qumran that can be offered from the study of backgrounds and ancient

historians. Such information, however, only helps us see the Community “from the outside in.” What do the authors of the Scrolls have to say about their own history “from within”?

This question takes us directly to the decisive figure in Qumran origins, the “Righteous Teacher” (or “Teacher of Righteousness”). Mysteriously, his name is never directly stated in any Dead Sea Scroll. Instead, he is known by the decisive role that he played in the history of the Community: he revealed the ways of righteousness in a time of religious darkness. The *Damascus Document* provides some of our most important information about the origins of the Teacher’s activity:

For when they were unfaithful by forsaking him [God], he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant with the forefathers, he saved a remnant for Israel and did not deliver them up to destruction. And at the period of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after having delivered them up into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he visited them and caused to sprout from Israel and from Aaron a shoot of the planting.... And they realized their iniquity and knew that they were guilty; but they were like blind men and like those who grope for a path over twenty years. And God appraised their deeds, because they sought him with a whole heart, and he raised up for them a Righteous Teacher, in order to direct them in the path of his heart. (1.3–11)

If the chronology of this passage is strictly followed, the Teacher appeared 410 years after the Babylonian conquest, around 177 B.C.E. This date falls, interestingly, just prior to the Hellenistic reform and the ensuing revolt. Perhaps the Teacher’s early activity was shaped by these events. The number may also be figurative or nonspecific (“*over* twenty years”). In this case, one might place the Teacher’s activity later than 177, nearer to the middle of the century. Whenever the Teacher arose, his passing had already taken place by the time that the *Damascus Document* (20.1, 14) was written (ca. 100 B.C.E.).

Three important details about the Teacher’s mission are revealed in this passage. First, God sent the Teacher to Israel during a time of great spiritual blindness, when people sought righteousness, yet were ignorant of the proper way of worship. Second, the Teacher was to lead the people precisely amid these circumstances, opening their eyes through his righteous instruction. Third, the Teacher emerged within the context of a larger movement, symbolically named the “shoot of the planting.” The Teacher thus did not create this movement. It had a prehistory of some decades, prior to his advent. His own work was to lead this fledgling movement in a distinctively new direction.

Other Qumran documents also mention the Teacher. This is especially the case with several biblical commentaries, like the *Commentary on Habakkuk*:

its interpretation concerns the Righteous Teacher, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets. (7.3–5)

Other writings also describe the Teacher. The “hidden things” of prophecy have been uniquely revealed to the Teacher. He speaks “from the mouth of God.” He is “the Interpreter of Knowledge.” In his teachings alone can one know the divine will in an age of spiritual blindness. “Faithfulness to the Righteous Teacher” is, therefore, necessary for one to be delivered during the time of final judgment. The Teacher is also described as “the priest ... whom God chose as the pillar, for he established him to build for him a congregation.” At least one passage further describes him as a “skilled scribe.”¹² If the titles “priest” and “scribe” are accurate, then one finds in the Teacher a distinctive combination of both mantological and technical authority: he is the charismatically gifted revealer of divine mysteries, yet he also possesses the technical expertise of an elite priest and skilled scribe. It is predictable that such a high understanding of religious authority would lead the Teacher into conflict with other groups who maintained their own claims of legitimacy. At least two adversaries opposed the Teacher. Their conflicts with him left their permanent impression upon the Community that he shaped by his teaching.

THE WICKED PRIEST

Several biblical commentaries among the Scrolls refer to an unnamed “Wicked Priest” who committed many abominable acts and persecuted the Righteous Teacher. This epithet is a polemical play on words between “high priest” (הכהן הראש) and “wicked priest” (הכהן הרשע). According to the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, the Priest became corrupt as he rose to high office:

Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called by the true name at the beginning of his station, but when he ruled in Israel, his heart became exalted, and he abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of wealth. And he stole and amassed the wealth of the men of violence who had rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of peoples to add to himself guilty iniquity. And abominable ways he pursued with every sort of unclean impurity. (8.3–13)

The Priest was exalted to the high priesthood by the faithful name of God. This may suggest that the Priest was initially viewed with “an open mind” by members of the Community. Yet he desecrated the holy name of God by which he had been called. This passage accuses the Priest of two offenses: he amassed to himself great wealth; and he transgressed the statutes of the Torah, especially the laws of purity. The Priest is later accused of transgressing the statutes of

God (8.16–17), being uncircumcised in heart (11.13–14), defiling the sanctuary, and stealing the wealth of the poor (12.8–9).

The Priest is also remembered for persecuting the Righteous Teacher and his followers. He “pursued after the Righteous Teacher ... to the house of his exile,” even on the day of repose during the Day of Atonement (11.4–7; cf. also 9.8–12; 12.2–6). This reference portrays the Teacher as dwelling in “exile,” possibly in hiding from the Priest. Now it would be difficult for the Priest to pursue the Teacher near the Day of Atonement, unless they were each celebrating the feast on a different day. On this basis, Shemaryahu Talmon has argued that the Teacher and the Priest made use of two different sacred calendars, a crucial difference between the two figures that made their teachings completely incompatible.¹³ Other documents preserved at Qumran, such as *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Great Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^a = 11Q5), prefer a solar calendar, not the lunar calendar of the Hasmoneans and later priests. Elsewhere the Priest is even accused of attempting “to murder” the Teacher (*Commentary on Psalms*^a 4.8–9). One might expect that the Scrolls would also anticipate the demise of the Priest—and they do, with frequent delight (e.g., *Commentary on Habakkuk* 8.17; 9.10–11; 12.5–6).

The Scrolls thus situate the origins of the Qumran Community in a conflict between two priests. Given the play on words between “wicked” and “high priest,” the Priest is best understood as one of the high priests of Jerusalem. The historical context of the period, as described above, clearly indicates the numerous controversies that surrounded the high priesthood beginning with the Hellenistic reform of 175 B.C.E. This also marks the beginning of the Teacher’s activity, according to the *Damascus Document*. It thus seems safe to look for the Priest among the Jerusalem high priests who presided after 175, possibly closer to the date of 140 B.C.E., which de Vaux proposed for the beginning of the Community’s activity at Qumran.

A dramatic change in the priesthood occurred in 152, the year in which Jonathan ascended to the high priesthood, the first of the Hasmoneans to hold this office. Prior to Jonathan’s accession, Josephus reports that the high priesthood had been vacant for seven years (159–152 B.C.E.) during an interregnum (*Ant.* 20.237). *Someone*, however, must have ensured that the temple continued to operate during these years. One possible scenario for identifying the Wicked Priest is that he was Jonathan, who ascended to the priesthood, bringing an end to the interregnum. Hartmut Stegemann has further proposed that the Righteous Teacher was an important Jerusalem priest during the interregnum or perhaps even *the* functioning high priest during these years.¹⁴ Another proposal identifies the Priest with Simon, who assumed the high priesthood after the death of his brother Jonathan in 143, about the time that the Community first became active at Qumran.¹⁵ Regardless of the precise identity of the Priest, later

generations at Qumran probably used the title for whoever the current high priest might have been. As Frank Cross has observed, there was no shortage of “wicked priests” during this historical period.¹⁶

THE MAN OF THE LIE

In addition to the Wicked Priest, another person seems to have betrayed the Teacher from within his own movement. He is described in numerous manuscripts as “the Man of the Lie”:

Its interpretation concerns the Man of the Lie, who led many astray with words of deceit, for they chose empty words and did not listen to the Interpreter of Knowledge, so that they will perish by the sword, by famine, and by plague. (*Commentary on Psalms*^a 1.25–2.1; cf. also 4.14)

The recurrent characteristic of the Man of the Lie is that he led many astray by rejecting the Teacher’s interpretation of the Torah. According to the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, he was joined by a following, called “the traitors” (2.1–10).¹⁷ The *Commentary* makes further reference to an assembly where the Man of the Lie repudiated the Teacher’s revelations (5.9–12). He is also described as “establishing a congregation” of his own adherents (10.5–13).

When these scattered references are pieced together, a scenario emerges in which the Teacher’s message was decisively rejected by a significant party close to himself, a party led by the Man of the Lie. Since Josephus describes differences among Essene communities on the question of marriage and possibly other issues, the Man of the Lie may have been an early Essene leader who could not submit to the Teacher’s authority. Instead, he established his own alternative congregation and separated himself from the Teacher. Building upon this possibility, the “Groningen Hypothesis” has proposed that Qumran was, in fact, formed by a schism within the Essene movement over the claims of the Teacher, who ultimately led his devotees into the wilderness in isolation from those who rejected his authority.¹⁸ Passages of *Some of the Works of the Torah* and the *Thanksgiving Hymns* may also refer to conflicts waged during the era of the Teacher’s formative work (see chapter 3).

The early controversies between the Teacher, the Priest, and the Liar left enduring impressions upon the religious identity of Qumran. Rejecting the most visible religious authority of their time, the high priest in Jerusalem, the men of Qumran separated themselves from the temple and retreated into the wilderness, waiting for the day when God would restore a righteous rule in the land. Yet even within, there was the threat of insidious betrayal by the traitors and the Man of the Lie. There was probably no successor to the Righteous Teacher. He is consistently remembered as a uniquely gifted figure who

emerged during a time of trial in the history of Israel. Amid deception and betrayal, he showed the true way. The Community that he founded would later look back to his leadership as the origin of their own insurgent struggle for righteousness in an evil world.

LIFE AFTER THE RIGHTEOUS TEACHER

Since the Community occupied Qumran only after 140, the Teacher's work probably began in Jerusalem and in other cities of the land. At some point, probably under influence of the Teacher, the group made its way to Qumran. The *Rule* declares their rationale in choosing a site "in the wilderness":

They shall separate themselves from the session of the men of deceit in order to go into the wilderness to prepare there the way of the Lord, even as it is written, "In the wilderness, prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." (Isa 40:3) This is the pursuit of the Torah which he commanded through Moses, to act according to everything that has been revealed. (8.13–16)

Finding in themselves the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies, the Community separated itself in "the wilderness" to "prepare the way of the Lord." As their interpretation of Isa 40:3 suggests, this meant pursuing the laws of the Torah through their accurate and stringent application to daily life. Once they had taken up their station in the wilderness, the Qumran Community flourished for almost two centuries after the death of the Teacher. What do we know about the Community's life after the Righteous Teacher?

Based upon de Vaux's excavations, the Community seems to have grown extensively during Phase 1b (134–31 B.C.E.). One reason for this growth may have been the rising animosity toward the Hasmoneans that erupted near the end of John Hyrcanus's rule (134–104 B.C.E.) and throughout that of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). The *Commentary on Nahum* directly mentions Jannaeus's purges against his opponents (frgs. 3–4 1.1–8), and Josephus provides a fuller account of his wrath against his enemies (*Ant.* 13.380–401):

He had eight hundred of his captives crucified in the midst of the city, and their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he looked on, drinking, with his concubines reclining beside him.... On the following night, eight thousand of the hostile faction fled completely outside of Judaea; and their exile ended only with the death of Alexander. (*War* 1.97–98)

Amid such brutal cycles of resistance and reprisal, Qumran could have become an attractive place of refuge. The growth of the Community during Phase 1b

made a written *Rule of the Community* necessary, since new members would have to be initiated into the secret teachings and practices of the movement.

The next important historical events in the life of the Community would have come with the Roman general Pompey's violent arrival to Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. This year marked the end of the Hasmonean dynasty and the beginning of the Roman period in Palestine. The arrival of the Romans was not welcomed by the men of Qumran, despite the fact that it ended Hasmonean rule. The Community expressed its anti-Romanism through the vision of an end-time "holy war" (*milḥama*). The Scrolls typically refer to the Romans as the *Kittim*, a word used for foreign invaders (Num 24:24), including the Romans (Dan 11:30). The *War Scroll* and other writings foresee God's ultimate destruction of the *Kittim* and the purification of the entire land after their demise. In no case do we have a document that is friendly toward the Romans. They represent an alien and impure presence in the land that God would ultimately drive out.

After the dawn of the Roman period in Palestine, the next traceable event in the Community's history is the earthquake of 31 B.C.E. and the site's abandonment until about 4 B.C.E. Several scholars have sought to provide some rationale for this prolonged abandonment by suggesting that the Essenes enjoyed friendly relations with King Herod (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.373–378) and so returned to Jerusalem during his reign.¹⁹ After all, Herod did not hold the priesthood, as the hated Hasmoneans had done. Beyond the isolation of the Dead Sea, would the Community have been influenced by other currents of popular religion? Would they, in turn, have influenced others and broadened their appeal? One can only speculate. Many scholars have entirely rejected a prolonged abandonment of the site.²⁰

Finally, we turn to the last great moment in the history of the Qumran Community: its destruction by the Romans in 68 C.E. The excavations by de Vaux showed only ashes, arrows, and coins. What is the story of the Community's last moments that lay somewhere behind these remains? Three conjectures may be offered. (1) The Qumran group may have defended their settlement by fighting against the Romans, as though they were participating in the great "holy war" foretold in the *War Scroll*. (2) The presence of the *Angelic Liturgy* at Masada strongly suggests that some of those associated with the Community took refuge there between 68 and 73 C.E. Some may have abandoned Qumran, perhaps to join the larger Jewish Revolt. (3) The Qumran group may simply have refused to surrender the site to the Romans, thus suffering a willing, yet nonviolent, death, not unlike martyrdom. Josephus, in fact, claims that Essene communities suffered martyrdom during the Revolt, like the legendary heroes of Maccabean times. In the silence of clear answers, we do not know which of these three conjectures is closer to the truth.

What we do know is that in the Dead Sea Scrolls the story of a religious movement lost for centuries has now been dramatically revealed. The sacred writings of this movement—their only treasures—have survived the flames that destroyed their world and speak in a new age.

APPENDIX: JOSEPHUS ON THE ESSENES

The two major passages on the Essenes from the writings of Josephus are here included for the convenience of the reader in a new translation, based upon the Greek text of the Loeb Classical Library.

JEWISH WAR 2.119–161

¹¹⁹ For among Jews, three groups pursue philosophy. The adherents of the first are called “Pharisees,” the second “Sadducees,” and the third—who are especially renowned for exercising themselves in the most sacred pursuits—are called “Essenes.”

They are Jews by birth, yet they are more fond of one another than of others. ¹²⁰ They turn away from pleasures as an evil; instead, they consider self-control a virtue, never falling under the sway of the passions. A contempt for marriage prevails among them, yet they accept the children of others while they are still delicate enough for their teachings, they regard them as their kinsmen, and they impress their customs upon them. ¹²¹ They do not repudiate the legitimacy of marriage and the progeny that derive from it, yet they guard themselves against the wanton ways of women, certain that none keeps faith with any one man.

¹²² They despise wealth, and their sense of community is a wonder: there cannot be found one who excels the others in possessions. For it is a law that those entering into their movement [or “sect,” “school”] must devote their property to the order; thus, neither the destitution of poverty nor the ascendancy of wealth exists among them at all, but there is a single commonwealth in which the possessions of each man are mixed together, as though they were all brothers. ¹²³ They consider oil a defilement, and if anyone is unwillingly anointed with it, he washes the body clean. For they hold it beneficial to keep their skin dry and to be clad always in white. Overseers of their community [or “common goods”] are elected, and they are each chosen for their usefulness to them all.

¹²⁴ They have no one city, but many settle together in every city. All their common possessions lie open for adherents who have arrived from elsewhere, as though they were their very own, and they gain entrance among those whom they have never seen, as though they were long-standing friends. ¹²⁵ For this reason, they make long journeys carrying nothing at all, only they are armed on

account of bandits. A guardian is appointed in every city of their order specifically to deal with visitors, dispensing clothing and provisions.¹²⁶ The raiment and fashion of their bodies is like that of children who are strenuously trained with fear. They change neither clothing nor sandals until they are completely torn apart or consumed over time.¹²⁷ They neither purchase nor sell anything among each other, but each man gives what he has to the one who is in need, and he receives back in return something useful from him. Yet even without repayment, it is freely permitted for them to take from whomever they wish.

¹²⁸ Now they are reverent toward the divine in a unique way: for before the sun rises they utter nothing of profane matters, but only certain ancestral prayers to him, as though they were making supplication for the sun to rise.¹²⁹ And after these things, they are dismissed by the overseers to the skills that they each know. After laboring intensely until the fifth hour, they assemble together again in a single place. Girding themselves in linen clothes [lit. "coverings"], they wash their bodies clean with cold water. After this purification, they assemble together in a private chamber, where no one who holds differing opinions is permitted to enter. Yet those who are pure attend the dining hall, as though they were entering into some holy temple [or "precinct," "shrine"].¹³⁰ Once they have seated themselves in silence, the baker dispenses the bread in an orderly fashion, and the cook dispenses one vessel of a single meat to each man.¹³¹ Then the priest prays first before the meal, and it is forbidden for anyone to eat before the prayer. Then he prays again for them after they have eaten breakfast—both as they begin and as they conclude, they honor God as the patron of life. Then, putting aside their clothing like sacred attire, they once again return to work until the afternoon.¹³² When they have returned, they dine the same way, and if any visitors happen to be present among them, they, too, sit down together with them. Neither shouting nor uproar ever defiles their dwelling place, but when speaking, they give way in an orderly fashion to one another.¹³³ To those outside, the silence of those inside seems like an awe-inspiring mystery. The cause of this is their perpetual sobriety and their measured distribution of just enough food and drink to satisfy themselves.

¹³⁴ Now in other affairs, there is nothing that they do unless the overseers dictate it, yet two things are within their own individual freedoms: aid and mercy. For of their own accord, they may aid those who are worthy of help, whenever they are in need, and give away food to those who suffer want. Yet they may not make communications [possibly, "gifts"] with their relatives without permission from the guardians.¹³⁵ They are righteous stewards of their wrath, holding their temper, champions of faithfulness, servants of peace. Now while every word spoken by them is stronger than an oath, they avoid swearing and consider it worse than perjury. For they say that anyone who cannot be trusted apart from God is already condemned.¹³⁶ They are extraordinarily

studious in the compositions of the ancients, selecting especially those that offer advantage to the soul and body. Within these, medicinal roots and the properties of stones are searched out by them for the cure of diseases.

¹³⁷ Now for those who strive to join their movement, admittance is not immediate. Instead, they instruct such a one in the same manner of life, while he remains outside for one year, giving him a small hatchet and the waist-cloth previously mentioned [cf. 129] and garments of white. ¹³⁸ When he has demonstrated proof of his self-control during this time, he proceeds closer to their manner of life and partakes of the purer waters for sanctification, but he is not yet fully admitted into their society. For after this demonstration of his perseverance, his character is examined for two more years. When he has shown himself worthy in this manner, then he is sanctioned for admittance into the congregation. ¹³⁹ But before he touches the common food, he must swear terrible oaths before them: first, that he will venerate the divine; then that he will cherish righteous works among men; that he will harm no one, either premeditatedly or under command; that he will forever hate the wicked and struggle on the side of the righteous; ¹⁴⁰ that he will always display faithfulness to all, especially to those who bear rule, for apart from God no one's rule can prevail; that if he himself should rule, he will not break forth into insolence while in authority, nor will he outshine those under his command by dress or by superior ornamentation; ¹⁴¹ that he will forever love the truth and prosecute liars; that he will guard his hands from theft and keep his soul pure of any unholy gain; that he will neither conceal anything from his fellow adherents nor disclose any of their secrets to others, even if violently forced to the point of death. ¹⁴² In addition to these oaths, he swears that he will transmit their teachings even as he himself received them; that he will abstain from banditry; and that he will likewise guard the writings of their movement and the names of the angels. By such oaths, then, they secure the allegiance of initiates.

¹⁴³ They expel from the order those who are caught in noteworthy transgressions. The one who is expelled often perishes by a most pitiful fate: for since he is bound to keep their oaths and customs, he cannot even receive food from others. While eating grass, he wastes away in body and perishes through starvation. ¹⁴⁴ For this reason, they have received again with compassion many who are at their last breath, considering torture unto the point of death a sufficient penalty for their sins.

¹⁴⁵ Now concerning judgments, they are exceedingly strict and just. No less than one hundred men gathered together sit in judgment, and so what is ordained by them cannot be altered. After God, the greatest object of their reverence is the name of the lawgiver [Moses], and if anyone should commit blasphemy against him, he is punished with death. ¹⁴⁶ Obeying elders and the majority is highly esteemed among them: for when ten sit down together, one

will not speak if the nine are unwilling.¹⁴⁷ They guard against spitting into the midst (of a company) or to the right side. In abstaining from works on the Sabbath, they are most preeminent among all the Jews. For not only do they prepare food on the previous day, so as not to start a fire upon that day, but they do not even risk moving a vessel or retiring to defecate.¹⁴⁸ On other days, they dig a pit one foot deep with a tool—for such is the small hatchet given by them to new adherents [cf. 137]—and covering up with a garment so as not to offend the eyes [or “rays”; see 128] of God, they sit over it.¹⁴⁹ Then they draw the earth that has been dug out back into the pit. In doing this, they choose the more solitary places. Although the expulsion of refuse is only natural, it is their custom to wash after this as though they had been defiled.

¹⁵⁰ They are divided into four classes according to the extent of their training. The newer members are so inferior to the more experienced that if one touched them, then the more experienced members would bathe as though contaminated by an alien.¹⁵¹ They are long-lived—most living on above one hundred years—because, it seems to me, of their simple way of life and discipline. They are despisers of dangers and conquerors of pain by their courageous resolve, considering death, if it approaches with honor, better than immortality.¹⁵² The war against the Romans tried their souls in every conceivable way. As they were twisted and bent, burned and broken, and forced through all the devices of torture, in order that they might blaspheme their lawgiver or eat something contrary to their customs, they did not submit to either of these things, nor did they once soften before their tormentors or cry.¹⁵³ Smiling in their pains and mocking their torturers, they cheerfully released their souls, as though expecting to receive them back again.

¹⁵⁴ For, indeed, this teaching has strength among them: while bodies are corruptible and their matter not enduring, souls persevere, forever immortal. Roaming abroad from the purest heaven, they become entangled in bodies as in prisons, so to speak, having been pulled down by a kind of natural spell,¹⁵⁵ but when they are sent back from the bonds of the flesh, then, as though set free from long slavery, they rejoice and are borne high into the air. Now as for the good, they propound that an abode beyond the sea is set apart (for them), agreeing together with the sons of Greece—a region weighed down neither by rain nor snow nor heat, but the eternally gentle west wind refreshes it, as it blows in from the ocean. But for the wicked, they set apart a dark and wintry recess filled with never ceasing punishments.¹⁵⁶ It seems to me that according to the same conception the Greeks set apart the Isles of the Blessed for their own courageous (men), whom they call heroes and demigods, and the region of the wicked down in Hades for the souls of the impious, where, their mythologists relate, some are punished, such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus. In this way, they affirm, first, that souls are everlasting and then the pursuit of virtue and the prevention

of vice.¹⁵⁷ For the good become better throughout life by the hope of reward even after death, and the passions of the wicked are hindered, since they fearfully expect to undergo immortal punishment after death, even if they should escape it in this life.¹⁵⁸ These, then, are the things that the Essenes propose regarding the theology of the soul, lowering an irresistible bait to those tasting even once of their wisdom.

¹⁵⁹ There are some among them who also profess to foresee what is yet to come, schooled from their childhood in the holy writings and different purifications and the utterances of the prophets. Scarcely, if ever, do they fail in their forecasts.

¹⁶⁰ Now there is also a different order of Essenes. While sharing the same lifestyle and customs and traditions as the others, they stand apart from them on their opinion of marriage. For they suppose that those who refuse to marry amputate the most important part of life—procreation. Moreover, if everyone shared this same view, their race would quickly cease.¹⁶¹ Yet they examine their wives for three years. Only when they have been purified for three cycles (as proof that they can bear children) do they marry them. But they have no sexual intercourse with them while pregnant, in order to demonstrate that it is not for pleasure but for the necessity of childbirth that they have married. When bathing, the women put on garments and the men wear a waist-cloth. Such, then, are the customs of this order.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES 18.18–22

¹⁸ The teaching of the Essenes is fond of admitting all things to the care of God. They believe that souls are immortal and that the reward of the righteous is worth striving for.¹⁹ They send votive offerings to the temple, yet they perform sacrifices [or “festivals,” “rites”], which they must observe, by a different ritual of purification. Because of this, they are barred from the public precincts of the temple, and they perform the sacrifices amongst themselves. Otherwise, they are men of the noblest character, directing themselves exclusively to agricultural work.²⁰ Now this righteousness [or perhaps “union”] of theirs is worthy of admiration above all others who lay claim to virtue, since it never existed among any of the Greeks or Barbarians, no not even for a short time, yet it has existed among them from olden times as their unceasing practice. Their possessions are held in common, and the rich man benefits no more from his own possessions than the one who possesses nothing at all. Now the men who practice these things are above four thousand in number.²¹ They do not admit wives, nor do they practice the ownership of slaves, mindful that the one promotes injustice and the other gives way to dissention. They live among themselves and, instead, make use of the service of one another.²² By a show of hands they elect good

men who collect their revenue and whatever the land brings forth, as well as priests for the preparation of their bread and food. They live no different but resemble especially those called the “Ctistae” among the Dacians.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE COMMUNITY, JUDEA, GREECE, AND ROME		
Date	Qumran	JUDEA, GREECE, AND ROME
B.C.E.		
175	Righteous Teacher, ca. 177?–ca. 100? <i>Damascus Document</i> 1.3–11	Hellenistic reform, 175, Antiochus IV, 175–164, invades Egypt, 170–168
		Maccabean Revolt, 167–164 interregnum, 159–152
150		Jonathan, 152–143
	Phase 1a: Qumran inhabited, ca. 140	Simon, 143–134
	Phase 1b: Qumran grows, ca. 134–31	John Hyrcanus, 134–104
100		Alexander Jannaeus, 103–76
		Salome Alexandra, 76–67
		Aristobulus II, 67–63
		Pompey invades, 63
50		
40		Herod the Great, 37–4
	Qumran abandoned?, 31–ca. 4	Battle of Actium, 31
		Augustus, 31 B.C.E.–14 C.E.
C.E.	Phase 2: Qumran restored, 4 B.C.E.–68 C.E.	Death of Herod the Great, 4 B.C.E.
		Archelaus, 4 B.C.E.–6 C.E.

		Judea under Roman governors, 6–41
		Tiberius, 14–37
		John the Baptist, Jesus, ca. 25–30
		Caligula, 31–41
		Agrippa I, 41–44 Claudius, 41–54
		Judea under Roman procurators, 44–66
50		Nero, 54–68
		First Jewish Revolt, 66–70
	Qumran destroyed, 68 Phase 3: Roman occupation, 68	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, 68–69
		Vespasian, 69–79
		temple destruction, 70
		Masada falls, 73/74
		Titus, 79–81
100		

4

WHAT KINDS OF ANCIENT WRITINGS ARE PRESERVED AMONG THE SCROLLS?

When the Dead Sea Scrolls were first discovered, the legendary archaeologist W. F. Albright declared them to be “the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times.” A generation later, this early enthusiasm has not disappointed. In addition to supplying the earliest biblical manuscripts available to us today, the discovery of the Scrolls unveiled the remains of hundreds of ancient writings previously unknown to anyone. These writings offer valuable insights for understanding the history, literature, and theology of Palestinian Judaism during the Second Temple period.

This chapter surveys some of the most outstanding new writings discovered among the Scrolls. These include (1) the *rule documents* that ordered the life of the Community, (2) the *legal writings* that declared their views about practicing the Torah, (3) their works of *biblical interpretation*, and (4) the *hymns and prayers* that expressed their spiritual devotion to God. When introducing each major writing, special attention is given to its literary features, its theological tendencies, its origins, and its surviving manuscripts.

RULES: “THIS IS THE PURSUIT OF THE TORAH IN THE WILDERNESS...”

Some of the most important documents for understanding the Qumran Community are the rule documents. The term “rule” (רֶסֶד) appears as a title written upon the outside of the large scroll (1Q28) containing the *Rule of the Community*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Rule of Blessings*. The same term is also attested in the *Damascus Document* and the *War Scroll*. This suggests that the Community preserved documents that it specifically classified with the title “rule.” The rules serve the special purpose of applying the Torah to practical forms of communal life. They take us, therefore, into one of the most urgent religious questions of Palestinian Judaism in the Second Temple period: How was one to live faithfully by the laws of Moses in daily life?

The Essene response to this question was inherently communal. By separating from the corruption rampant in society at large, Essenes sought to pursue

the pure life of the Torah together in exclusive communities. The rules structure this pure communal life under a number of different circumstances. The *Rule of the Community* expresses the proper practice of the Torah in daily life, prior to the end of the age, during a time of testing. The *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Rule of Blessings* address different circumstances, as the end of the age is actually dawning. The *Damascus Document* describes a “renewed covenant” of laws that should guide communities located in cities and in camps during an age of wickedness. The *War Scroll* and the *Rule of War* indicate the proper procedure for waging war at the end time. The rules thus address different scenarios. Sometimes they include differing perspectives, illustrating diversity among the writings of the Community. Nevertheless, taken together, they reveal how the Community struggled to achieve one of the great religious quests of its time—to pursue a pure and blameless life before God.

RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

The *Rule of the Community* provides a series of regulations for organizing the life of a *yahad*, or “community.” The basic structure of the largest copy of the *Rule* (1QS = 1Q28) is as follows:

1QS 1.1–15	Preamble
1QS 1.16–2.18	Entering the Covenant Community
1QS 2.19–3.12	Renewal Ceremony, Atonement
1QS 3.13–4.26	The Dualistic Treatise
1QS 5.1–6.23	Rules for Life in the Community
1QS 6.24–7.25	Rules for Punishment
1QS 8.1–10.4	Rules for the Holy Congregation
1QS 10.5–11.22	Hymn of Praise ¹

Several of these units were probably united over time to comprise the larger *Rule*. Thus, the *Rule* may reflect Qumran practices that emerged in different stages of its history. The “Rules for the Holy Congregation” (8.1–10.4), for example, may have formed its earliest nucleus, since this unit provides a clear rationale for the Community’s original withdrawal into “the wilderness” (8.15). If this is the case, then this unit would provide us with one of our earliest expressions of the mission of the Qumran Community.

The first section of the *Rule* provides a kind of “mission statement” for the remainder of the document. The *Rule* has been written,

in order to seek God with [all the heart and all the soul], to do what is good and upright before him, even as he commanded by the hand of Moses and by the hand of all his servants the prophets. (1.1–3)

An important aspect of the Community's ideology shines through in the following lines: They must "love all the Sons of Light ... and hate all the Sons of Darkness" (1.9–11). This command is reinforced throughout the *Rule* by a strong love for members of the Community ("the Sons of Light") and a fierce ideological hatred of outsiders ("the Sons of Darkness"). As members enter into "the covenant" of the Community, they must even recite blessings upon fellow members and ritual curses upon outsiders (1.16–2.18).

The rules for purity and atonement in 2.19–3.12 are characterized by a strident exclusivity: those who do not enter into the Community cannot repent of sins, cannot know the difference between light and darkness, cannot receive atonement or purification (3.1–8). Even members of the covenant must produce works of righteousness before rituals of purification may benefit them:

It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes that his flesh can be cleansed by sprinkling with waters of purification. (3.8–9)

External rituals will not purify the "flesh" without a "humble spirit" within.

The central theological teaching that underlies many of these regulations is contained in the Dualistic Treatise of 3.13–4.26. The title of this section addresses itself to the "Instructor," who must teach "all the Sons of Light" what is to follow (3.13). This implies that all members may have been required to study this section. The Treatise begins with one of the strongest statements of predeterminism to be found in Jewish literature of this period:

From the God of Knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. Before they came into being, he established all their designs; and when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design. Nothing can be changed. (3.15–16)

This unyielding predeterminism ascribes both good *and evil* to God:

[God] created the human for the dominion of the world, designing for him two spirits in which to walk until the appointed time for his visitation, namely, the Spirits of Truth and Falsehood. (3.17–19)

Here there is no "fall" of humanity. Instead, *from the very beginning* God determined that human life would be lived under the powers of two cosmic spirits locked in struggle until the end of the age. In fact, it is God "*who created* the Spirits of Light and Darkness" (3.25).

The present world is shaped by the hostile struggle of these two powers for universal dominion. For the present, the righteous are constantly beset by the evil power of the Spirit of Falsehood. Already, however, God has "set an end for

the existence of Falsehood. At the appointed time, he will destroy it forever" (4.18–19). "By the mysteries of his understanding and his glorious wisdom" (4.18), God will ultimately prevail over evil. A radical monotheism is thus combined with an equally radical dualism throughout the passage. This is an ambitious theological feat, yet the Treatise expresses these ideas with a compelling authenticity. The Treatise provides an impressive explanation for why evil exists in the world and how God will ultimately triumph over it. The Community drew profound implications from this dualistic teaching. Since the cosmos had been structured according to a conflict between Darkness and Light, strict separation from Darkness was necessary to practice the Torah in purity.

Communal organization is the topic of the next extended section of the document. This includes the novitiate mentioned in the previous chapter (5.1–6.23). The novitiate serves the important sociological function of separating "insiders" from "outsiders" during the age of wickedness. The next unit of rules for punishing errant members of the Community (6.24–7.25) combines strictures that attempt to rehabilitate offenders (6.25–26; 7.2–23) with more harsh punishments of complete exclusion (7.1–2, 16–17, 23–25). Sentences of punishment are leveled especially against lying about property, social discord, blasphemy, sleeping during assemblies, nakedness, and insubordination.

Instructions are also given for a "Council of the Community" (8.1–10.4), a group of three priests and twelve men (8.1–4) who possess authority to oversee the affairs of the Community. An important passage within this section declares the Community's original rationale for turning to the wilderness to "prepare the way of the Lord" (8.13–16; 9.19–20). The most astonishing claim of this unit is that the Community itself has the responsibility for atoning for the sins of the entire land of Israel (8.3–10; 9.3–6). The Community thus considered itself—and not the Jerusalem temple—to be the divinely sanctioned means for removing guilt from the land of Israel. Members are further commanded to preserve the Community's secret teachings from outsiders. One must not argue with "the men of the pit," lest they come to know the truth of the Torah, which God has concealed from them (9.16–19). These principles must guide the Community during the present time of distress, "until the coming of the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (9.10–11). This reference foresees the coming of two Messiahs, one to rule over the priesthood and one to rule over all Israel at the end of days.

The *Rule* ends with a moving hymn (10.5–11.22) that explores the depths of human impurity before a holy God (10.23–24; cf. 11.9–22). Despite the extraordinary wickedness of humanity, God has mercy upon the repentant:

In his compassion he draws me near, and in his mercy he brings forth my judgment. In the righteousness of his truth he judges me. In his great goodness he atones for all my iniquities. (11.13–15)

The *Rule* thus complements its austere regulations with the awe of human iniquity and divine compassion upon sinners. The hymn also reveals the Community's self-understanding as a dwelling place of the divine, which God has joined together with the heavenly world (11.7–9). In the pure worship of the Community, the boundaries between heaven and earth diminish, as human beings and angels assemble together to praise God (see *Thanksgiving Hymns, Angelic Liturgy, Blessings*^{a–e}).

In addition to the large scroll from Cave 1, at least eleven other copies of the *Rule* have been discovered (4QS^{a–j} = 4Q255–264, 5QS = 5Q11; cf. 11QS? = 11Q29). Many of these contain subtle variants when compared with the Cave 1 copy. The “Messiahs of Aaron and Israel,” for example, are completely missing from 4QS^c. These manuscripts may represent earlier sources of the *Rule* or later abbreviations. The copies range in date from 125–100 B.C.E. in the earliest (4QS^a) to approximately 30–1 B.C.E. in the latest (4QS^d, 4QS^f, 4QSⁱ). The large Cave 1 copy dates to approximately 100–75 B.C.E. Since it is wise to allow for a period of development prior to the earliest copies, the *Rule* probably emerged between 150 and 125 B.C.E. This is precisely the same period in which the origins of the Qumran Community itself are to be found. It has thus remained a traditional assumption that the *Rule* was composed by members of the Qumran Community in order to meet its religious and social needs as these developed over time. Some scholars use the *Rule* as a criterion for identifying other writings that may also have been composed by the Qumran Community.²

RULE OF THE CONGREGATION

After the longest copy of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), two additional writings were copied within the same scroll: the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS^a = 1Q28^a) and the *Rule of Blessings* (1QS^b = 1Q28^b). The *Rule of the Congregation* is entitled “The rule for the whole congregation of Israel in the latter days” (1.1). Several features distinguish it from the *Rule of the Community*: it is written for the messianic age itself rather than the time of bitter struggle that will precede it; it includes rulings for “women and children” (1.4); and it prefers one Messiah (2.12, 20) rather than two. Despite these differences, their presence within the same scroll indicates that the two rules were studied together in complementary ways. The *Rule of the Congregation* offers instruction to various groups regarding their participation in a sacred assembly in the latter days:

1QS ^a 1.1–5	Preamble
1QS ^a 1.6–22	Regulations for the People
1QS ^a 1.22–25	Regulations for the Priests
1QS ^a 1.25–27	The Purity of the Congregation

1QS^a 1.27–2.10

Those Included and Excluded

1QS^a 2.11–22Rule for the Messianic Feast³

This writing was probably composed by members of the Qumran Community sometime prior to 75 B.C.E. Only one copy has survived.

The preamble of the document (1.1–5) envisions an end-time assembly of those who have kept the commandments and atoned for the land. Ranked according to their ages (1.6–22), these shall assemble together under the priestly authority of the “Sons of Zadok” to hear a reading of “all the statutes of the covenant” (1.5). Apparently, the assembly is modeled on the great “covenant-renewal” ceremonies found in the Scriptures (Deut 29; Josh 24). In addition to the laws of the Torah, the assembly will be instructed in the *Rule of the Congregation* itself, which will guide their behavior in the latter days.

The final section (2.11–22) prescribes the proper conduct of the Congregation at “the feast for the Council of the Community when [God] leads forth the Messiah with them” (2.11–12). The priests enter and take their seats first (2.12–14). Following them is “the Messiah of Israel,” who precedes all the tribal leaders of the people. The priest will bless the bread and new wine, and partake (2.14–20). Then the Messiah shall partake (2.20–21), followed by the remainder of the assembly (2.21–22). In addition to providing important information regarding messianism, this rule is also valuable for understanding the ideal social order envisioned by the Community. This order may be described as hierocratic, messianic, and egalitarian: hierocratic, since the priests serve as the principal authorities over the congregation; messianic, since the Messiah holds intermediate authority over local leaders, yet under the priests; and egalitarian, since one’s rank in the congregation is determined by age (1.6–22), not by social status or wealth.

RULE OF BLESSINGS

The last writing found in the large *Rule* scroll from Cave 1 contains blessings dedicated to a number of persons and groups who will emerge in the latter days. The individual blessings are entitled as “words of blessing for the Instructor to bless...” (1.1; 3.22; cf. 5.20):

1QS^b 1.1–20

Blessing upon the Faithful Ones

1QS^b 1.21–3.21

Blessing upon a Priest

1QS^b 3.22–5.19

Blessing upon the Sons of Zadok

1QS^b 5.20–29Blessing upon the Prince⁴

In addition to the best-preserved copy (1QS^b), a smaller fragment from the Schøyen Collection (MS 1990) has been located. The date of composition for

the *Blessings* is within the same general period as the previous two rules. The *Blessings* were most likely a product of the Qumran Community.

A brief citation reveals the exalted poetic style of the *Blessings*. The rule records these blessings for the priests, the Sons of Zadok:

May you be like an Angel of the Presence in the Holy Dwelling.... May he make you hol[y] among his people, and to give light [...] to the world with knowledge, and to illumine the face of many. (4.24–27)

This blessing envisions the priests serving in the heavenly world itself and providing righteous instructions for worship to the earthly realm. The blessing for the Prince of the Congregation foresees the emergence of a latter-day military ruler and judge who will govern the daily affairs of the people righteously (5.20–29). Underlying these blessings is the hope that in the future both the cultic authority of the Zadokite priests and the civil authority of the Prince would be exercised separately, yet harmoniously (cf. Ezek 34–37; 40–48). Cunningly, this hope contradicts the prevailing political reality of the time. In these days, neither a Zadokite high priest nor a Prince of the Congregation, but a single Hasmonean *priest and ruler*, governed the people. Thus, these sublime *Blessings* promote the ideal vision of a new reality in the land, one that subversively contradicts the current political regime of the time.

DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Another important rule discovered among the Scrolls is the *Damascus Document*, so named because it describes a “new (or renewed) covenant” made in the land of Damascus (CD^a 6.5, 19). This writing was known prior to the discovery of the Scrolls. Two medieval copies (CD^a and CD^b) had been discovered late in the nineteenth century, as Solomon Schechter was investigating the manuscript holdings of a synagogue in Cairo. CD^a is the more extensive and ancient copy, and it provides the content of columns 1–16. Schechter dated it to the tenth century C.E. CD^b provides the concluding exhortation of columns 19–20 and dates from the twelfth century C.E. The discovery of the Scrolls, however, revealed ten additional copies (4QD^{a–h} = 4Q266–273, 5QD = 5Q12, 6QD = 6Q15). The earliest (4QD^a) dates from the first century B.C.E.⁵ Thus, the Scrolls have shown that the document was much older and more widely circulated than previously known. Qumran may even have had an important role in its early transmission and use.

The literary structure of the *Damascus Document* is complex. This is due to the fact that its contents occasionally differ in the Cave 4 fragments and in CD. Nevertheless, its basic contents may be grasped as beginning and ending with

an exhortation to righteousness, with an extended exposition of legal matters in between:

CD ^a 1.1–8.21	Opening Exhortation
1.1–2.1	The Righteous Teacher and the “Traitors”
2.2–13	God’s Plan for the Righteous and Wicked
2.14–8.21	History from the Watchers to the Covenant
CD ^a 15.1–16.20	Legal Exposition 1
15.1–5	Swearing
15.5–16.6	Entering the Covenant
16.6–12	Keeping Oaths (men and women)
16.13–20	Freewill Offerings
CD ^a 9.1–14.22	Legal Exposition 2
9.1–16	Vengeance and Restitution
9.16–10.4	Witnesses
10.4–10	Judges
10.10–13	Purification with Water
10.14–11.18	Sabbath
11.18–12.2	Purity
12.2–6	False Teachers and Their Followers
12.6–11	Relations with Gentiles
12.11–15	Dietary Laws
12.15–18	Purity of Wood, Tools, and Houses
12.19–22	“Rule of the Cities of Israel”
12.22–14.22	“Rule of the Camps”
CD ^b 19.1–20.34	Concluding Exhortation

The Qumran fragments contain additional legal rulings on various topics:

- * The ways of the Pit [4Q270 frg. 2 cols. 1–2; 6Q15 frg. 5]
- * Priestly qualifications [4Q266 frg. 5 cols. 1–2; 4Q267 frg. 5 cols. 2–3]
- * Skin disease, menstruation, pregnancy [4Q266 frg. 6 cols. 1–2; 4Q269 frg. 7; 4Q272 frg. 1 cols. 1–2; 4Q273 frg. 4 col. 2]
- * Harvest [4Q266 frg. 6 cols. 3–4; 4Q267 frg. 6; 4Q270 frg. 3 col. 2]
- * Metals defiled by idolatry [4Q269 frg. 8 col. 2; 4Q270 frg. 3 col. 3; 4Q271 frg. 2]
- * Suspected adulteresses [4Q269 frg. 9; 4Q270 frg. 5; 4Q271 frg. 3]
- * Regulations resembling *Rule of the Community* col. 7 [4Q266 frgs. 10–11 col. 2; 4Q267 frg. 9 col. 6; 4Q270 frg. 7 col. 1]

The contents of 12.19–14.22 indicate that the document is, indeed, not simply an exposition of the Torah but a practical “rule” for governing communal life. At least two communal contexts are addressed in the rule: one, in the cities of the land of Israel; the other, in “the camps,” presumably located outside of cities.

The Opening Exhortation (1.1–8.21) portrays Israel’s history as one that has been plagued by cycles of righteousness and wickedness throughout the ages. It is in this very context that God raised up the “Righteous Teacher” for Israel (1.1–2.1). The principles of divine justice that underlie this division between the righteous and the wicked are clarified in what follows:

God loves the knowledge of wisdom; and understanding he has established before him. Prudence and knowledge serve him, longsuffering is with him and abundance of pardons to make atonement for those who repent from wickedness. But power and might and great wrath with flames of fire are in the hand of all the angels of destruction against those who turn aside from the way and abominate the statute, so that there will be no remnant or survivor before him. For God did not choose them when the world began, and before they were established, he did not know their works. (2.3–8)

The predeterminism expressed in this passage rivals even that of the *Rule of the Community* (3.13–4.26). It confirms that even in the radical division of good and evil that has plagued the history of Israel, God is ultimately in control and all things transpire according to a predetermined divine will. The following historical review (2.14–8.21) begins with the fall of the Watcher Angels (cf. Gen 6:1–4, *1 En.* 6–9) and leads progressively to the establishment of the Damascus Covenant. In every generation of Israel’s history, the covenant given to Abraham and his descendants was compromised and forsaken by the wicked. Belial, an evil angelic being, has consistently ensnared the people in “three nets”: fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple (4.15–19).

Yet God has not forsaken the covenant established with the ancestors; it has been renewed for the present and future through the Damascus Covenant:

But God remembered the covenant of the forefathers. And he raised up from Aaron men of knowledge and from Israel wise men, and made them listen. And they dug the well, “A well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the staff” (Num 21:18). The well is the law. And those who dug it are the converts of Israel, who left the land of Judah and lived in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called “princes,” for they sought him. (6.2–6)

The *Damascus Document* reveals the proper interpretation of the Torah that was “discovered by those who entered into the new covenant of Damascus” (6.19). Those who enter the covenant will resist the “three nets” of Belial by

practicing the Torah. For example, the net of fornication will be avoided by following very strict matrimonial laws (4.20–5.11). “Fornication” is so strictly defined that a man may not take two wives in his entire lifetime (4.20–21; cf. 5.9–11).

The Legal Expositions (cols. 15–16 and 9–14) demand equally stringent rulings. Among the most fascinating are those governing the Sabbath (10.14–11.18). These rules leave little room for any activity on the Sabbath, even in exceptional circumstances. If an animal falls into a pit, a man must not help it out (11.13–14). If a man falls into a pool of water, one must not use a ladder or rope or tool to help him out (11.16–17). The ensuing purity laws also maximize the Torah’s jurisdiction to increasingly broader spheres of application. For example, one may not sleep with a woman in the entire city of the temple, lest the temple be defiled (12.1–2).

The document, as found in CD^b, closes with a final exhortation. Column 20 assures adherents of the Damascus Covenant that they shall receive salvation from the age of Belial as they pursue its regulations, and it offers final praise for the Righteous Teacher, who is now deceased (19–20).

The ten manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* indicate its importance to the Community. Since the document was already attested in Cairo, however, many scholars have concluded that it was not originally composed by members of the Qumran Community. The document may even have originated within the larger Essene movement outside of Qumran, where marriage was practiced and Essene communities lived together in cities and in camps. The men of Qumran may also have edited the *Damascus Document* to suit their own needs over time. These factors may help to explain numerous commonalities between the *Damascus Document* and writings composed by the Qumran Community, while also recognizing their differences. The *Sectarian Rule* (5QRule = 5Q13) provides a good illustration of how the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community* could influence the composition of new writings at Qumran. Several of the Cave 4 fragments, which resemble *Rule of the Community* column 7 (4Q266, 4Q267, 4Q270), similarly point to a close relationship between the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule* in the Community’s practices.

WAR SCROLL

Two additional rules deal with military affairs. The better preserved of these is the *War Scroll* (1QM = 1Q33). In nineteen columns, it portrays an eschatological war in which priests orchestrate battles according to the teachings of the Torah, and supernatural beings of Light and Darkness clash on both sides of the conflict:

1QM 1.1–16	Prologue
1QM 1.17–2.6	Priest and Temple
1QM 2.6–15	Gathering the Army
1QM 2.16–3.12	Rule of Trumpets
1QM 3.13–5.2	Rule of Banners
1QM 5.3–9.18	Rule of Formations and Arms
1QM 10.1–8	Purity of the Camp
1QM 10.8–14.18	Hymns of Preparation
1QM 15.1–18.5	War with the <i>Kittim</i>
1QM 18.5–19.8	Hymns of Victory
1QM 19.9–14	Day after Victory

Whether and how to fight by the Torah was an urgent concern of some groups who participated in the Maccabean Revolt (see 1 Macc 2:15–26; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.268–271), and the *War Scroll* offers its own solutions to the religious problems raised by war. At least five different headings within the document introduce its content as a “rule” (1.1; 2.16; 3.13; 5.3; 9.10). The provision of an assembly for war in the latter days is, in fact, briefly alluded to in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1.26). The *War Scroll* spells out in greater detail the methods of sacred warfare to be employed on such an occasion.

In addition to the large Cave 1 copy, six other manuscripts containing portions of the *War Scroll* exist (4QM^{a–f} = 4Q491–496). Together with 1QM, these manuscripts date to the second half of the first century B.C.E. This represents the same era in which the Romans occupied Palestine. The men of the Community probably understood the evil armies of the *Kittim* mentioned in the Scroll as the Roman legions (cf. Dan 11:30). References to the “Instructor” (1.1) and the strong influence of dualistic theology (esp. cols. 1 and 13) indicate that the *War Scroll* was either written by members of the Community or heavily edited by them using preexisting sources.

The *War Scroll* opens by describing the latter-day war as a cosmic battle between good and evil (1.1–16), not unlike the “battle of Armageddon” in the Apocalypse of John (16:16; 19:11–21). The war will take place on two planes of existence, with both earthly and heavenly combatants: on one side, God and Israel; on the other, Belial and the *Kittim*. The war will proceed “sabatically”:

In the war, the Sons of Light will be the strongest during three portions, in order to strike down wickedness; and in three, the army of Belial will gird themselves in order to force the lot of [light] to retreat. There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God’s might will strengthen the he[art of the Sons of Light.] And in the seventh lot, God’s great hand will subdue [Belial, and all] the angels of his dominion and all the men of [his lot.] (1.13–15)

After a stalemate between good and evil, only God will finally prevail as victor in the seventh portion of the battle. This passage implies in a surprising way how radically evil has pervaded the universe: even the most heroic efforts of the righteous will end in stalemate with evil; God alone can finally triumph. Elsewhere the *War Scroll* sets forth a sabbatical chronology of forty years in which Israel will triumph over all its enemies (2.6–15): five years will be spent observing the sabbatical year (Lev 25), six will be spent in preparation, and twenty-nine will be spent in waging wars. These “sabbatical” structures reveal an important tendency of the document as a whole: Israel will fight by methods of sacred warfare that are attuned to the sabbatical laws of the Torah.

Priests play an important role throughout the *War Scroll*, as they do in other Qumran rule documents. They are situated in the temple early on, ensuring that daily offerings of sacrifice continue in the onslaught of the war (1.17–2.6). They will sound the trumpets of attack and retreat and ensure that the armies follow the laws of ritual purity (10.1–8). They will also orchestrate the singing of sacred hymns, one before the final battle with the *Kittim* (10.8–14.18), the other after it (18.5–19.8). The hymns reinforce the theological claims of the entire document: God is a warrior and will triumph over evil. No king is ever mentioned as leading his own personal troops into battle. Instead, tribal leaders will summon the hosts of the army (2.6–15). The scroll thus portrays a method of sacred warfare that ran counter to the military organizations of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great.

RULE OF WAR

Another *Rule of War* is preserved in two manuscripts (4QSM = 4Q285; 11QSM = 11Q14) dating from the same period as the *War Scroll*. This writing provoked an instant sensation in the early 1990s, when it was announced that it preserved reference to a slain Messiah.⁶ Subsequent research has disqualified this reading. The document mentions no “Messiah,” but rather the “Prince of the Congregation,” a charismatic military leader who is not “slain” but rather “kills” his foe. Due to the many similarities between them, J. T. Milik originally proposed that this document was the lost ending to the *War Scroll*.⁷ Most scholars today, however, regard it as an independent writing influenced by the *War Scroll*, yet providing an alternative version of how the latter-day battle would transpire. When compared to the *War Scroll*, this document invests more concern in the earthly realm of battle and less interest in the supernatural. Other scrolls that provide their own rulings regarding the proper methods of war include the *Temple Scroll* (col. 58, 61.13–16) and the *Apocryphon of Moses*^b (4QapocrMoses^b = 4Q376).

LEGAL WRITINGS: "WE SAY THAT IN THESE THERE IS NO PURITY..."

If the rules attest how the Community strived to achieve a pure communal life according to the Torah, several other writings reveal the broader context of the Community's strict interpretation of biblical law that often underlies these rulings. These "legal writings," however, are not rules but rather expositions of how the laws of the Torah should be applied to a number of possible situations not originally envisioned by the biblical authors. Certainly, the great *corpora* of rabbinical literature, the Mishnah and Talmud, attest this same phenomenon in later Judaism, but Qumran literature provides insights into legal disputation in Palestinian Judaism at a historical juncture centuries earlier. These writings thus take us back into the same historical context of the legendary legal disputes between the houses of Hillel and Shammai and the controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees. Alongside these notable interpreters of the Torah, the men of Qumran strived to establish their own strict application of biblical laws.

SOME OF THE WORKS OF THE TORAH

One of the most important writings for understanding the early legal perspectives that separated the Qumran group from other Jews is *Some of the Works of the Torah* (*Miqsat Ma'asei Ha-Torah* = MMT), also called the *Halakhic Letter*. This document contains at least three individual units, which derived from independent sources. The first unit (A) contains a clarification of the proper calendar for worship. The second (B) is an exposition on over twenty points of law. The third (C) is an exhortation addressed to an unnamed person, which encourages him to follow the legal opinions of the authors:

4QMMT A 19–21	Calendrical Document
4QMMT B 1–82	Legal Exposition
1–3	Introduction
3–5	Concerning the Wheat of the Gentiles
5–8	Concerning the Sin Offering
8–9	Concerning the Sacrifices of the Gentiles
9–13	Concerning Cereal Offerings
13–17	Concerning the Purity of the Heifer
18–23	Concerning the Hides of Animals
24–27	?
27–35	Concerning the Temple and Jerusalem
36–38	Concerning Mother and Offspring
39–49	Concerning Foreigners and the Impaired
49–51	Concerning the Blind

52–54	Concerning the Deaf
55–58	Concerning Liquid Streams
58–62	Concerning Dogs
62–64	Concerning Fruit Trees
64–72	Concerning Lepers
72–74	Concerning Corpses
75–76	Concerning Fornication
76–77	Concerning Mixed Animals
77–78	Concerning Mixed Clothing
78–79	Concerning Mixed Seeds
79–82	Concerning Priestly Marriage
4QMMT C 1–32	Concluding Exhortation

An outline of the document has been made possible by John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron, who reconstructed its original structure from six available copies (4QMMT^{a–f} = 4Q394–399; cf. 4Q313).⁸ These copies date from the first century B.C.E., yet most scholars agree that they describe legal conflicts that shaped the earliest formation of the Community, around 150–100 B.C.E.

The Calendrical Document (A) insists that the Torah should be practiced within the context of a 364-day solar calendar. In contrast to a lunar calendar, a solar calendar assures that religious holidays fall on predictable days of the week; thus, it avoids numerous conflicts of interest in the application of Sabbath laws. A number of other documents preserved at Qumran also prefer a solar calendar.⁹ Since the Jerusalem priesthood observed a different kind of calendar in the second century B.C.E., it has often been suggested that calendrical disputes were among the issues that originally separated the Qumran Community from the Jerusalem priesthood. Like the *Temple Scroll*, the Calendrical Document also refers to extra festivals integral to the solar calendar: the Festivals of Wine, Oil, and Wood.

The extended Legal Exposition (B) begins with the declaration, “These are some of our words...” (cf. Deut 1:1). A list of legal rulings “concerning” various matters follows. The legal matters dealt with in this section were probably the very issues that separated the authors from their opponents. They typically concern legal scenarios not fully treated in the Torah. For example, when making cereal offerings at the temple, should one use grains grown by the Gentiles? If one is sacrificing a pregnant animal, should the mother and the unborn be offered together on the same day? Can a priest marry someone from a non-priestly family? *Some of the Works of the Torah* answers all three questions in the negative. For the authors, these rulings are not simply minor points of etiquette: priests who do not keep watch over these things may “lead the people into sin,” defiling Jerusalem and even the temple itself. The authors support their views

with citations from the Torah, which have been subtly paraphrased to strengthen their legal claims.

The Concluding Exhortation (C) is the primary reason why scholars have understood *Some of the Works of the Torah* as a letter written from one religious party to another. In this section, the authors encourage an unnamed opponent to adopt their own legal rulings. They explain that they have separated themselves from the multitudes because their own legal opinions have not been accepted by the populace. Nevertheless, they foresee a day when “in the latter time” Israel shall return to the true teaching of the Torah. With this hope in view, they declare “this is the latter days”—therefore, now is the time to adopt their teachings. The authors, thus, believe that they are practicing their strict application of the laws at the dawn of history’s culmination. Given the seriousness of the subject matter, the tone of the Exhortation is surprisingly conciliatory. No venomous accusations are waged against the authors’ opponent. Instead, the reader is urged to change his ways, as David received forgiveness for his own transgressions. He is even addressed as having knowledge of the Torah—all the more reason why he should acknowledge that the rulings of the document are faithful to all that God had revealed to Moses.

The precise function of this document within the Qumran Community remains under careful study. Clearly, the document describes conflicts waged during the period of Qumran origins. For this reason, it has been suggested that the letter was the work of the Righteous Teacher himself, as he wrote to the Jerusalem priesthood to explain the Community’s separation from the multitudes. The *Commentary on Psalms*^a, in fact, mentions a “Torah that he [the Teacher] sent to him [the Wicked Priest]” (4.7–9). Perhaps we are reading this very “Torah” in the present writing. If this letter preserves the Teacher’s “Torah” to the Priest, then the Teacher’s separation from Jerusalem was far more civil than anyone might have been able to guess apart from this document. The Teacher’s separation would also be characterized by particular legal disputes over the Torah, not simply by political conflicts within the priesthood.

TEMPLE SCROLL

For many reasons, the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a = 11Q19) is distinctive among the writings found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Not only does it have the distinction of being the longest of all the Scrolls. It also provides a virtually comprehensive edition of the entire Torah, with numerous alterations through which the authors have promoted their own legal opinions. Because of the way this scroll is written, ancient readers might even have believed they were reading the Torah itself, when in fact they were reading a document subtly crafted to promote its authors’ legal opinions.

In his monumental study of the scroll, Yigael Yadin identified the methods of composition by which the *Temple Scroll* achieved this powerful effect. The first and most noticeable of these is the fact that God speaks to Israel directly in the first person (“I say to you...”). In Yadin’s estimation, this device served “to dispel any doubt that God is speaking.”¹⁰ Second, the scroll merges different commands on the same subject into a single, clear passage. Thus, laws from three different passages of the Torah might be harmonized into a single commandment. Third, many words and phrases are added to biblical commandments in order to clarify the meaning of difficult passages and guide the reader’s interpretation. Finally, whole new sections of previously unknown laws have been added. These new sections provide the clearest indications of the authors’ own ideological tendencies.¹¹

With these methods in use, the document proceeds topically to cover some of the most important laws of the Torah:

11QT ^a 3–13.8	The Temple’s Sacred Artifacts and Altars
11QT ^a 13.9–29.8	Sacrifices and Offerings
11QT ^a 29.8–45.6	The Temple’s Architecture
11QT ^a 45.7–51.10	Purity Laws
11QT ^a 51.11–66.17	The Deuteronomic Paraphrase

The vast majority of this scroll is directly concerned with the temple and what takes place within and around it. Beginning with a description of its sacred artifacts, God commands Israel how to build the temple’s physical architecture, how to perform offerings there, and how to practice the laws of purity in and around it. The final section of the scroll offers a paraphrase of Deut 16–23. This paraphrase complements the earlier laws by providing an outline of how the most important political leaders among the people, such as judges and kings, are to conduct themselves. Taken together, these topical sections indicate the astounding ambition of this document. The *Temple Scroll* provides legal instruction on almost every aspect of Jewish law represented in the Torah.

It remains unclear how the authors understood the relationship of this new document to the Torah itself. Was it a “sixth book” of the Torah, to be read alongside the others? Or was it the definitive Torah that should be held in preeminence above all others? Moreover, if the law had already been revealed in the Torah, then why was this legal writing ever needed at all? Two factors must be considered when addressing these questions.

First of all, many of the laws of the Torah were written in conjunction with a traveling wilderness tabernacle, not a stationary temple in Jerusalem. The *Temple Scroll* may “update” the laws of the Torah by showing how they are to be practiced within the Jerusalem temple. Furthermore, the architecture of the

wilderness tabernacle described in Exodus could hardly answer every question about how to build the temple. The *Temple Scroll* thus provides its own comprehensive blueprint for the temple and shows how offerings and sacrifices should be coordinated with its sacred architecture.

Second, the authors probably composed this document in order to reform the legal practices that prevailed in their own times. At no time in history did the temple actually look like the one whose architecture is described in the *Temple Scroll*. If its own laws were to be followed, radical reforms would have to take place. Perhaps these reforms could only be fully executed in the eschatological future, as at least one passage of the scroll may indicate:

I shall sanctify my [san]ctuary with my glory which I shall allow to rest upon it, until the day of the blessing [or “creation”], when I shall create my sanctuary, to establish it for myself for all time. (11QT^a 29.8–10)

The scroll may reveal the laws that Israel must follow in an ideal, eschatological era, when God has created a pure and new temple in the land.

The purity laws of the scroll (45.7–51.10) contain several interesting passages that expand our understanding of how some religious leaders of this period distinguished the clean from the unclean. Like the *Damascus Document* and *Some of the Works of the Torah*, the *Temple Scroll* regards the entire city of Jerusalem as holy:

And the city which I will sanctify ... and [my] temp[le within it] shall be holy and shall be pure from any impurity whatsoever that might defile it. Everything that is in it shall be pure and everything that goes into it shall be pure: wine, and oil, and all food, and all drink. (11QT^a 47.5–7)

For the authors of the scroll, this requires the inconvenient demand that latrines be built three thousand cubits outside of the city (46.12–18). Another purity regulation deals with the case of a pregnant woman whose unborn child has died within her womb (50.10–19). No law in the Torah treats this specific situation. The *Temple Scroll* judges this unfortunate scenario according to the laws of corpse impurity. The unborn child is like a corpse, and its mother is “impure like a grave” (50.11). Those who contact her must, therefore, seek purification, and any physical objects she has contacted must also be purified.

The Deuteronomic Paraphrase (51.11–66.17) that concludes the scroll states the laws governing proper social and political relations in the land. Although the paraphrase may originally have derived from a different source, it serves as a fitting complement to the earlier laws by indicating how political life is to be lived out in the presence of a holy temple. The paraphrase follows

the basic sequence of Deut 16–23. The laws on kingship provide an excellent illustration of how the scroll adds whole new sections to previous biblical laws (56.12–59.21). Based upon the Deuteronomic “King’s Law” (17:14–20), the scroll adds a number of laws that limit the autonomy of the king and make him subject to the authority of the priests. Many specialists believe that these laws were originally written as a polemic against the rising power of the Hasmonean rulers.

The *Temple Scroll* survives in at least three copies (11QT^{a-b} = 11Q19–20, 4QT = 4Q524). The Cave 4 fragments of the scroll are the earliest and date to the period of Qumran origins, roughly 150–125 B.C.E. The latest copy, 11QT^b, indicates that the *Temple Scroll* remained the object of ardent study at Qumran well into the first century C.E. Scholars have traditionally concluded that this document was written by members of the Qumran Community. Some have even ventured that the Righteous Teacher himself composed the scroll as the basis of his own legal teachings. However, others point out the differences between these laws and other Dead Sea Scrolls, arguing that the same Community cannot possibly have written both. Thus, the question of its precise origins remains an open one.

OTHER LEGAL WRITINGS

Other fragments provide additional evidence for understanding Jewish legal practices in this era. Several *Purification Rules* (*Tohorot*) from Cave 4 preserve purity regulations for bodily issues (4QThrA = 4Q274, 4QThrC = 4Q278), for foods and liquids (4Q274), and for the red heifer purification rite (4QThrB^{a-b} = 4Q276–277). Two other manuscripts, *Halakha A and B* (4QHlk^{a-b} = 4Q251–264^a), preserve rulings on Sabbath, liability, sacrifice, and unlawful marriages. The *Ordinances* from Cave 4 (4QOrd^a = 4Q159, 4QOrd^b = 4Q513, 4QOrd^c = 4Q514) also include interesting rulings on gleaning, the half-shekel tax, weights and measures, slavery, clothing, the virginity of brides, fornication by priestly families, and purification before meals.

SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES:

“THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MATTER CONCERNS...”

The Community’s legal documents indicate how they interpreted the laws of Moses. Yet what about the rest of the Scriptures? Many fascinating writings reveal how the Community interpreted the Prophets, Psalms, and other portions of Scripture. Their value extends beyond Qumran studies, since they preserve abundant evidence for how the Bible was interpreted in Palestine during the Second Temple period.

PESHARIM

A large number of scriptural commentaries from Qumran are called “pesharim,” since they typically begin their interpretations with the word “pesher” (פֶּשֶׁר). In the book of Daniel, this word is used to express the interpretation of an apocalyptic vision whose meaning is supernaturally revealed to a gifted seer.¹² The Qumran pesharim interpret Scripture through similar methods. The *Commentary on Habakkuk* dramatically reveals this tendency:

God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon the last generation, but the fulfillment of the time he did not make known to him. And when it says, “so that he can run who reads it” (Hab 2:2), its interpretation concerns the Righteous Teacher, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets (6.12–7.5)

In this interpretation, Habakkuk did not know when his own prophecies would come to pass. Instead, their meaning was hidden away in mystery, until the coming of the Righteous Teacher, who made known all the secret revelations of prophecy. The other Qumran pesharim similarly unveil the mysteries of the prophetic writings. Although they claim a supernatural inspiration, the pesharim are not ecstatic ravings; instead, they employ a number of stylized formulae that betray an underlying process of disciplined scribal training. The pesharim proceed in a citation and commentary structure. First, the citation of a biblical verse is given, often introduced by phrases like “as it is written...” Next, the interpretation typically begins with some form of the word *pesher*, translated into English as “interpretation.”

Among the writings that use the term *pesher*, seventeen proceed by interpreting continuous verses of a single scriptural book. They are, therefore, often classified as “continuous pesharim.” These are to be distinguished from “thematic pesharim” that quote Scriptures from many different books in order to illumine a particular theme.¹³ The major continuous pesharim include the following manuscripts, listed here with the scriptural passages they interpret:

MANUSCRIPT	SCRIPTURES INTERPRETED
Habakkuk	
1QpHab	Hab 1:1–2:20
Isaiah	
3QpIsa = 3Q4	Isa 1:1–2
4QpIsa ^a = 4Q161	Isa 10:22–11:5
4QpIsa ^b = 4Q162	Isa 5:5–6, 11–14, 24–25, 29–30; 6:9
4QpIsa ^c = 4Q163	Isa 8:7–8; 9:11, 13–20; 10:12–13, 19–24; 14:8, 26–30; 19:9–12; 29:10–12,

	15–16, 18–23; 30:1–5, 15–21, 23; Jer (?); Zech (?), 11:11; Hos 6:9
4QpIsa ^d = 4Q164	Isa 54:11–12
4QpIsa ^c = 4Q165	Isa 40:12; 14:19; 15:4–5; 21:10–15; 32:5–7; 11:11–12
Hosea	
4QpHos ^a = 4Q166	Hos 2:10–14 (8–12 Eng.)
4QpHos ^b = 4Q167	Hos 5:13–15; 6:3–4, 7, 9–11; 8:6–8, 13–14
Nahum	
4QpNah = 4Q169	Nah 1:3–6; 2:12–14; 3:1–12, 14
Psalms	
1QpPs = 1Q16	Ps 68:13, 26–27, 30–31
4QpPs ^a = 4Q171	Pss 37:7–26, 28–40; 45:1–2; 60:8–9
4QpPs ^b = 4Q173	Ps 129:7–8

Commentaries on Micah (1QpMic = 1Q14, 4QpMic = 4Q168) and Zephaniah (1QpZeph = 1Q15, 4QpZeph = 4Q170) are also attested. These manuscripts date to the first century B.C.E., yet their original date remains uncertain. Each commentary is found in only a single copy. If our manuscripts are the original autographs, then the pesharim date to the latter half of the first century B.C.E. Two manuscripts (4QpIsa^b, 4QpIsa^d), however, may be copies of previous writings, in which case the pesharim may be considerably older.

Three subjects preoccupy the interpretations of the pesharim. First, the prophetic Scriptures are interpreted in terms of the Righteous Teacher's struggle with his adversaries and the formation of the Qumran Community. Second, the pesharim are also concerned with current events in the history of Judea, especially the rise of the *Kittim*. Finally, the pesharim also interpret the Scriptures "for the latter days," foreshadowing events that are yet to come. What holds these three subjects together is the awareness that the Scriptures contain the secrets of past, present, and future history. In this sense, the pesharim make an interesting ancient comparison to apocalyptic interpretations of the Bible so widespread in popular religious culture today.

The *Commentary on Habakkuk* is the longest surviving pesher. This commentary presents Hab 1:1–2:20 in terms of the Righteous Teacher, the Wicked Priest (8.3–10.5; 11.2–12.10), the Man of the Lie (5.8–12; 10.5–11.2), and the rise of the *Kittim* (2.10–5.6; 5.12–6.17). The commentary understands the present moment to be "the time of wickedness" (5.7–8). In fact, the entire period of latter-day evil "will be prolonged, and it will be greater than anything of which the prophets spoke, for the mysteries of God are awesome" (7.7–8). Despite the prevalence of such latter-day evils, hope remains:

God will not destroy his people by the hand of the Gentiles, but into the hand of his chosen God will give the judgment of all the Gentiles. And by means of their rebuke, all the wicked ones of his people will be convicted, (by those) who have kept his commandments in their distress. (5.3–6)

When rule is restored to the righteous, knowledge of the truth will once again be revealed throughout the world, “as the waters of the sea in abundance” (11.1–2). The Wicked Priest will be destroyed (10.2–5). “On the day of judgment,” God will destroy idolaters and drive the wicked from the land (12.10–13.4). With this promise of a land purified of evil, the commentary reaches a hopeful conclusion.

The *Commentaries on Isaiah* present a series of interpretations explicitly “for the latter days.”¹⁴ The *Commentary on Isaiah*^a applies Isaiah’s prophecies about the fall of “Assyria” (10:22–11:5) to the final defeat of the *Kittim* by “a shoot from the stump of Jesse” (Isa 11:1–5). The interpreter understands this prophecy in terms of the “Prince of the Congregation,” a divinely gifted military commander, like David, who will defeat Israel’s enemies (frgs. 8–10 3.15–29). The *Commentary on Isaiah*^b maligns “the congregation of the men of mockery in Jerusalem” (2.2–10), a possible reference to the priesthood. Their wicked deeds have brought divine wrath upon the land (2.1–2). The *Commentary on Isaiah*^c concerned two enemies, “the Seekers after Smooth Things” (frg. 23 2.10) and “the king of Babylon” (frgs. 8–10 line 1, frg. 25 line 1). The latter may be the ruler of the *Kittim* or some other evil king (cf. 4QpIsa^e).

The *Commentaries on Hosea* reveal how Hosea’s prophecies about Israel’s infidelity have now recently come to pass in Judea. The interpreter accuses his opponents of following “the appointed times of the Gentiles” (2.15–17), a detail that may reflect the Community’s calendrical disputes with its opponents.

The commentary that yields the clearest references to historical events is the *Commentary on Nahum*. The range of the author’s historical vision extends over “the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the rise of the rulers of the *Kittim*” (frgs. 3–4 1.2–3), roughly from 175–63 B.C.E. Within this historical period, the commentary directly refers to “Deme]trius, King of Greece” (frgs. 3–4 1.2), who attempted an ill-fated invasion of Palestine in 88 B.C.E. According to Josephus, Alexander Jannaeus’s Pharisaic opponents invited Demetrius to invade Jerusalem (*War* 1.97–98; *Ant.* 13.380–401). Jannaeus’s reprisals were swift and brutal. He crucified hundreds of his Pharisaic opponents, whom the *Commentary* calls “Seekers of Smooth Things.” This derogatory term is a clever play on words in which “those who seek the right practice of the laws” (דורשי ההלכות) are, instead, called “those who seek smooth things” (דורשי החלקות). If the Seekers are, indeed, Pharisees, they were no friends of the men of Qumran, who saw in Jannaeus’s reprisals God’s righteous judgment against them, because “they [w]alk about in deceit and false[hood]” (frgs. 3–4 2.2).

Finally, the Scrolls also preserve interpretations of the book of Psalms as inspired prophecies that would come to pass “during the time of refining” (4Q171 2.19), “during the time of affliction” (2.10). The *Commentary on Psalms*^a contains frequent reference to the Teacher’s conflicts with both the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie (frgs. 1–10 1.25–2.1; 4.1–15). In a surprisingly precise prophecy, the commentator reveals that “at the end of forty years” all the wicked “will be consumed and there will not be found on earth any [wi]cked man” (frgs. 1–10 2.7–9; cf. *War Scroll* 2.6–15; CD^b 20.15). At this time, those who have endured the forty-year time of affliction “will be delivered from all the traps of Belial” and enjoy the benefits of eschatological blessings in the land of Israel (2.10–11). They will also “take possession of the high mountain of Isra[el, and on] his holy [moun]tain they will delight” (3.8–11), a reference to retaking the Jerusalem temple, which this writing envisions as the Community’s ultimate destiny.

FLORILEGIUM

Several other commentaries also use the word *pesher*; yet they proceed differently. Scholars often call these writings “thematic pesharim,” since they select passages from several different biblical books and interpret them together to elaborate particular themes. The most important of these works include the *Florilegium* (4QFlor = 4Q174), *Catena A–B* (4QCat A–B = 4Q177, 182), and *Melchizedek* (11QMelch = 11Q13).

The manuscript of the *Florilegium* (“anthology” or “collection”) dates to the early first century C.E. Its contents clearly identify it with the Qumran Community. This writing provides an extended interpretation of 2 Sam 7:10–14 and Pss 1–2. In interpreting each of these passages, the author has also incorporated citations from other biblical books:

1.1–13: INTERPRETATION OF 2 SAM 7:10–14

“I will establish his royal throne forever...”

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1.1–3: 2 Sam 7:10–11a | 1.10–12: 2 Sam 7:11–14 |
| 1.3–7: Exod 15:17b–18 | 1.12–13: Amos 9:11a |
| 1.7–9: 2 Sam 7:11b | |

1.14–2.6: INTERPRETATION OF PSS 1–2

“Why do the heathen rage...”

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1.14–15: Ps 1:1 | 1.18–2.3: Ps 2:1–2 |
| 1.15–16: Isa 8:11 | 2.3–5: Dan 11:32b |
| 1.16–17: Ezek 37:23 | frgs., Deut 33:8–12; |
| | Isa 65:22–23 |

What did these verses have in common? The best way to answer this question is to recognize the common themes of the two main texts. In 2 Sam 7, one finds a crucial explanation of God's relationship to the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem temple. The citations from Ps 2:1–2 also concern God's "anointed" king, especially the adversity that he faces from the groups who oppose him. Taken together, these passages thus deal with two of the most important institutions in the history of ancient Israel: the royal Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem temple.

The commentary begins by projecting God's promises about the temple into the future. Thus, the "house" of 2 Sam 7 is "the house that [he will build] for [him] in the latter days" (1.1–3). A further citation of Exod 15:17–18 indicates that this "house" is "the sanctuary" that God will build at the end time. In the Babylonian destruction of 587 B.C.E., Israel's sanctuary was destroyed by foreign armies. The sanctuary spoken of here, however, will never be destroyed (1.3–6). The belief in a future temple, supernaturally created by God, was a popular one at Qumran, as illustrated in the *Temple Scroll* (29.9) and *New Jerusalem*. Hope in a new temple was the logical complement to their belief that the current, earthly temple was presently defiled by wicked men.

The interpreter, however, also speaks of another sanctuary, not of stones, but "of human being(s)" (1.6–7). This passage reveals an important component of Qumran belief: hidden away in the wilderness, the Community understood itself to represent the true temple of God in the present world. By pursuing "works of thanksgiving,"¹⁵ members of the Community envision themselves as priests offering up the equivalent of sacrifices. The duty of the Community to represent the temple of God in an age of wickedness helps one to understand the severity of their legal documents, the strictness of their rules, and possibly even their celibacy.

As for the royal Davidic dynasty promised in 2 Sam 7, the Scripture foretells the coming of "the Branch of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Torah who [...] in Zi[on in the] latter days" (1.10–12). This interpretation foretells the coming of two eschatological figures: one, a Davidic figure; the other, an interpreter of the Torah. Most scholars recognize this as an allusion to the Community's hope in two Messiahs: one devoted to administering proper political rule in the land; the other to supervising priestly affairs (cf. *Rule of the Community* 9.10–11). This division is often termed "diarchal Messianism," since "two rulers" are implied. Messianic terminology is not confined exclusively to these two figures, however. In an interpretation of Ps 2:1–2, the Lord's "anointed" ("Messiah" in Hebrew) is understood as referring to "the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days" (1.18–19). In light of the preceding lines, these seem to be the men of the Community themselves, who will remain pure during "the time of refining" and "practice the whole Torah" (2.1–2). This

ascription of messianic identity to an entire group is often termed “communal messianism.”

CATENA A–B

Another of the thematic pesharim resembles the *Florilegium*. The *Catena* consists of two groups of fragments (4QCat A–B = 4Q177, 182), grouped together as part of the same exegetical work. The manuscripts date just before or after the turn of the era. The *Catena* is either a portion of the same document preserved in the *Florilegium*¹⁶ or the remains of an independent writing that employs similar techniques. Like *Florilegium* 1.14–2.6, *Catena A* comments primarily on the first verses of several psalms:

CATENA A

Frgs. 1–4, etc. line 4	Ps 17:1
Frgs. 5–6 lines 7–8	Ps 11:1–2
Frgs. 5–6 line 12	Ps 12:1
Frgs. 7, etc. line 1	Ps 12:7
Frgs. 7, etc. lines 8–9	Ps 13:2–3
Frgs. 7, etc. lines 11–12	Ps 13:5
Frgs. 12–13 1.4–5	Ps 6:2–5

Citations from at least seven other biblical books are also interpreted.

The *Catena* incorporates a broad range of the Community’s ideology in its interpretations. Several passages are designated “for the latter days.” The Scriptures foretell of the “time of refining” (frgs. 5–6 line 3; frgs. 7, etc. line 10), “the time of affliction” (frgs. 12–13 line 10) that has come upon the commentator’s own generation. During this time, the “Sons of Light” are locked in heated strife with “Belial” (frgs. 1–4, etc. lines 8–10). The “men of mockery” (frgs. 5–6 line 7) and the “Seekers of Smooth Things” (frgs. 7, etc. line 12) are also mentioned. Despite being surrounded by so many enemies, the Sons of Light will eventually prevail, aided by the “Angel of Truth” (frgs. 12–13 line 9). The commentator also foresees a day in which those who fear God will “enter Zion with joy, and Jerusalem [...]” (frgs. 12–13 1.12). Like the *Commentary on Psalms*^a (3.8–11), this passage probably hopes for a reclamation of Jerusalem and its temple at the time of God’s final triumph over wickedness.

MELCHIZEDEK

One additional thematic peshar interprets passages of the Torah, Psalms, and Prophets in terms of a quasi-angelic figure named Melchizedek (see Gen

14:18), who will deliver the righteous in the last days. The commentator understood the pesher of these Scriptures in terms of “the latter days” (2.4). This declaration is based upon a sophisticated understanding of world chronology, in which history has been divided into epochs based upon sabbatical and Jubilee years (see Lev 25). The same method of interpreting history is used in *Jubilees*, which the men of Qumran studied rigorously. Since the *Pesher on the Periods* (4QAgCreat A–B = 4Q180–181) reflects a similar world chronology, *Melchizedek* could have been part of the same work, which interpreted the Jubilees from creation to the end time.¹⁷

During this tenth Jubilee, Melchizedek will liberate the righteous, restoring their inheritance and forgiving their sins (2.2–10). He will exercise vengeance upon Belial and all who are under his dominion (2.10–15). Assisting him will be “all the divine beings” and “sons of God,” angelic beings who execute the latter-day judgment (2.14–15). Since he is presented together with these angelic beings, Melchizedek is best understood as an archangelic figure or a cosmic spirit like the Spirit of Truth mentioned in the *Rule of the Community* (3.13–4.26). In addition to Melchizedek, the commentator also expects the rise of one who is called “the messenger” of Isa 52:7. He is further hailed as “the anointed of the spir[it]” (2.15–18). This messianic language may describe an anointed prophet who will render true teachings in the latter days. The following lines, in fact, indicate that he will “comfort” and “instruct” the righteous. Thus, alongside Davidic Messiahs and priestly Messiahs, one may also speak of “prophetic Messiahs” in Qumran literature. *Melchizedek* dates paleographically to the middle of the first century B.C.E. The terminology of the document identifies it as a composition of the Qumran Community.

PESHER ON THE PERIODS

Three exegetical works from Qumran use pesher exegesis within a larger retelling of events from the book of Genesis. These writings are, thus, perhaps best described as “narrative-exegetical,” since they combine pesher exegesis with paraphrases of biblical narratives. Writings that share this style of exposition include *Pesher on the Periods* (4QAgCreat A–B = 4Q180–181), *Commentaries on Genesis A–D* (4QCommGen A–D = 4Q252–254), and *Exposition on the Patriarchs* (4QExpPat = 4Q464).

The *Pesher on the Periods* is represented in two manuscripts (4Q180–181) dating to the middle of the first century B.C.E.¹⁸ The pesher introduces itself as the “Interpretation concerning the ages that God has made” (4Q180 frg. 1 line 1). The ages include the “ten generations” from Noah to the birth of Isaac (frg. 1 lines 4–5; 4Q181 frg. 2 line 1). Thus, the pesher is chiefly concerned with the

scriptural context of Gen 6–21. A strong sense of predeterminism underlies the structure God has given to the “ages” of creation:

Before creating them he established [their] operations [according to the precise sequence of the ages], one age after another. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets [for the sons of men], [for] all the ages of their dominion. (4Q180 frg. 1 lines 2–4)

From the beginning, God has fixed the entire structure of creation and history. The sequence of the ages has been irrevocably engraved within the heavenly books. This determinism even foresees the rise of evil before the dawn of time. The pervasive wickedness in the world has, thus, not caught God by surprise.

The pesher explains the origins of evil through a discussion of Gen 6:1–7, where the “sons of God” took for themselves “the daughters of men.” Like *1 Enoch* (6–9), which the Community studied diligently, the pesher understands the events of Gen 6:1–7 to explain the origin of demonic beings and the prevalence of evil in the creation (4Q180 frg. 1 lines 7–10; 4Q181 frg. 2). The remaining fragments also describe the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:20–21), which foreshadows how God will judge “all fle[sh]” at the end time. No human work will escape the judgment of God, since even “before creating them he knew [their] intent[ions]” (frgs. 2–4 2.5–10). The pesher was probably composed by members of the Community.

COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS A–D

Four additional narrative-exegetical works dedicated to the book of Genesis have been discovered in Cave 4. The best preserved of these is the *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252). Like the *Pesher on the Periods*, the remains begin with the events recorded in Gen 6 and continue with an interpretation of the ancestral narratives of Gen 12–49:

1.1–2.4	Chronology of the Flood (Gen 6:3–8:19)
2.4–8	Cursing of Canaan (Gen 9:24–27)
2.8–3.9	Blessing upon Abraham (Gen 11:31; 18; 22)
3.12–4.3	Abraham’s Descendants (Gen 28:3–4; 36:12)
4.3–6.4	Blessings upon Israel (Gen 49)

The scriptural citations in this commentary contain substantial paraphrasing, which subtly lays the groundwork for the author’s interpretations. After the flood, the theme of curses (2.4–8) and blessings (2.8–3.9; 4.3–6.4) emerges, a theme that reaches its conclusion with the poetic blessings upon the children of Israel from Gen 49. For this reason, the commentary has also been

entitled *Patriarchal Blessings*. Within the section dedicated to the tribe of Judah, the commentator foresees the coming of “the righteous Messiah, the Branch of David” (5.1–5). Citing Jer 33:17, he understands God’s covenant with the house of David to be a perpetual covenant that God would confirm for the future through the coming of the Messiah. The manuscripts of the *Commentaries on Genesis A–D* date to the late first century B.C.E. Their contents place them within the literature composed by the Qumran Community.

Beyond continuous and thematic pesharim and narrative-exegetical works, many Qumran manuscripts attest the interpretive methodology of paraphrasing biblical texts. Others prefer to list verses from different scriptural contexts, creating an anthology of key biblical passages on a particular theme. Since these manuscripts deal with how the Scriptures were collected, copied, and transmitted at Qumran, they will be treated in the following chapter.

HYMNS AND PRAYERS: “BLESSED ARE YOU, O LORD, GOD OF MERCIES...”

Alongside rules, legal works, and biblical interpretations, many Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that the men of the Community preserved sophisticated hymns and prayers that expressed their spiritual zeal for God. These larger collections of hymns and prayers offer us a window for understanding the spirituality of Qumran from within. They also provide some of the most sensitive poetic compositions of this era.

THANKSGIVING HYMNS

One of the first hymnic collections discovered among the Scrolls was the *Thanksgiving Hymns* preserved in Cave 1 (1QH^a) and published early on by Sukenik. Since this original discovery, seven additional manuscripts have also been found (1QH^b = 1Q35, 4QH^{a-f} = 4Q427–432). Due to these discoveries, Émile Puech has been able to reconstruct twenty-six columns that comprised the original manuscript of 1QH^a (Sukenik had identified only eighteen).¹⁹ The large number of manuscripts and the immaculate quality of 1QH^a indicate the importance of the *Hymns* in the worship of Qumran. The earliest manuscript dates to approximately 100 B.C.E., close to the Community’s origins.

The *Thanksgiving Hymns* are addressed directly to God in the second person. This mode of address creates a tone of personal intimacy between the speaker and God. Several styles of introduction are used to begin extended passages within the hymns. The most common is “I thank you, (O Lord)...,” thus the title of the collection as *Thanksgiving Hymns* or *Hodayot* (in Hebrew). Another formula employs beatitudes to God, not unlike the Eighteen Benedictions of later Jewish liturgy: “Blessed are you, (O Lord)....” Several hymns ask

rhetorical questions of the deity: "I am dust and ashes; what can I plan if you do not wish it? What can I devise without your will? How can I be strong if you do not make me stand?" (18.5–6). Such questions accentuate the magnitude of the deity and the smallness of human life before God.²⁰ At least four passages provide directions for the "Instructor," who is charged with leading the singing of the hymns (5.1; 7.11; 20.4). These directions imply that the Community incorporated these hymns into a disciplined sequence of communal worship (cf. *Rule of the Community* 10.23).

The hymns illumine a number of theological themes in worship. Numerous passages explore the absolute majesty of God and the infinite distance that separates the Creator from human beings. In light of God's glory, human beings are ignorant of the mysteries of the divine nature (9.1–34; 7.11–31; 5.1–28), since they are defiled by sin and habitually slanted toward evil (9.26–27). It is by divine mercy alone that anyone can be accepted by God:

Only by your goodness shall a man be made righteous, [purified] by the abundance of [your] compa[ssion.] (5.22–23)

Such passages portray a strikingly radical sense of human iniquity and divine grace. In the speaker's many pleas for forgiveness (4.17–25; 8.1–27; 12.30–40; 17.1–37), God's fierce wrath upon sinners is always just; however, mercy for the repentant is equally sure:

With my steps, there is an abundance of forgiveness and a multitude of [compas]sion when you judge me.... like her who loves her child and like a wet-nurse, you take care of all your creatures on [your] lap. (17.33–36)

With considerable sophistication, the speaker portrays God as equally wrathful and compassionate, without compromising either of these attributes.

Numerous hymns are concerned with the impartation of the mysteries of divine wisdom to human beings (6.1–30; 15.26–27; 18.14–19.13; 19.27–36; 20.4–36; 23.1–16 [top]). Repeatedly, the speaker rejoices that he has been favored with knowledge, perception, and understanding—in contrast to the many who are locked in ignorance regarding the ways of God.

I give [you] thanks, [O Lord], for you have taught me your truth, you have made me to know your wonderful mysteries, your kindness towards [...] man, with the abundance of your compassion for those depraved of heart. (15.26–27)

The wisdom that the speaker receives leads him into direct conflict with those who reject it:

You have set me as a reproach and a mockery to traitors.... Because of the iniquity of the wicked, I have become the target of slander on the lips of violent men, the scoffers grind their teeth.... But you have set me like a banner for the righteous elect, like an Interpreter of Knowledge in mysteries of wonder. (10.9–13)

Due to their similarities to other Qumran literature, some scholars believe that a core of these hymns of conflict may have been authored by the Righteous Teacher himself. The speaker, in fact, regards himself as a divinely gifted “Interpreter of Knowledge,” the very term used of the Teacher in the *Commentary on Psalms*^a (1.27). Furthermore, he disputes against the “traitors” (10.9) and “Seekers of Smooth Things” (10.15), familiar opponents from the Qumran pesharim. Hymns that share this strong polemical character are, thus, sometimes called “the hymns of the Teacher.” Other hymns have been termed “the hymns of the Community,” since they address more general concerns.

BLESS, O MY SOUL

Several fragments from Cave 4 (4QBarki Nafshi^{a-c} = 4Q434–438) preserve a collection of hymns dating from the first century B.C.E. Stylistically they begin with the words, “Bless, O my soul...,” a convention clearly influenced by psalms in which the speaker commands his “soul” to bless the Lord (e.g., Pss 103–104). In these hymns, the speaker blesses the Lord for at least three reasons.

First, God has had mercy upon the poor and afflicted:

He has opened his eyes upon the oppressed and has heard the cry of the orphans and has paid attention to their ... call.... In their m[a]ny hardships he did not forsake them ... nor did he judge them with the wicked.... He judged them with much mercy. The sorrowful judgments were to test them. (4Q434 frg. 1 1.2–7)

In these passages, God is the merciful advocate and defender of the weak and despised. In their afflictions, they have been tested but not forsaken. The blessing thus affirms God’s faithfulness amid the sufferings of the righteous.

Second, God has purified the speaker of sins and transgressions. He proclaims that God has removed the “evil inclination” from him and given him a “pure heart,” so that he may continue to walk in the ways of the covenant. Fornication, stubbornness, and anger have been removed from him, and in their place God has caused humility and patience to dwell (4Q435–436).

Third, at least one passage of *Bless, O My Soul* was concerned with extolling God’s help in the speaker’s persecution (4Q437 frgs. 2, etc. 1.1–16). This section is more overtly polemical than the others and resembles some of the hymns

of conflict in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. This may indicate that portions of *Bless, O My Soul* were shaped by the Community's polemics. Otherwise, it is difficult to find extended portions of this work that were uniquely concerned with the special issues of the Qumran Community.

ANGELIC LITURGY

A prominent collection of hymns from Qumran is coordinated with the offering of Sabbath sacrifices and describes the supernatural worship transpiring within the heavenly world. The collection is preserved in nine copies from Qumran and one additional manuscript from Masada (4QShirShabb^{a-h} = 4Q400–407, 11QShirShabb = 11Q17, MasShirShabb = Mas1k). These copies date as early as the latter half of the second century B.C.E. The hymns are addressed “To the Instructor,” who is responsible for organizing their performance on appropriate Sabbaths. For this reason, the collection is also called the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The songs command a number of entities to “praise” God, a style of introduction recognizable from Psalms (e.g., Pss 146–150). Surprisingly, the various parties commanded to praise God are divine and angelic beings who dwell within the highest realms of the heavenly world:

Praise the God of ... (you)] wonder[ful] deputy [princes,] [and e]xalt him [according to the glory in the abode of the God of knowledge. The cherubim fall down before him, and] bless. When they rise [the murmuring sound of divine beings is heard, and there is an uproar of exultation] [when they lift] th[eir win]gs. (11Q17 7.9–12)

The *Angelic Liturgy* provides one of the most complete illustrations of an important idea alluded to elsewhere in Qumran literature: the men of Qumran understood themselves to be living and worshiping upon the threshold of the heavenly world (cf. *Rule of the Community* 11.7–8; *Thanksgiving Hymns* 11.19–23). In their worship, they join together with angelic beings of supreme holiness and purity as they offer praise to God. This exalted notion of worshiping upon the threshold of heaven may help to explain the strict necessity of ritual purity in the Community and its separation from the outside world.

Due to the directions “for the Instructor,” the use of a solar calendar, and terms that can be found in the *Rule of the Community*, the *Angelic Liturgy* was probably composed or edited by members of the Qumran Community—although, as Carol A. Newsom warns, this issue remains under discussion. Since a copy was found at Masada, the *Angelic Liturgy* may also have originated from other movements within Judaism. Many similarities with *Blessings*^{a-c} (4Q286–290), a Qumran composition, reveal that even if it derived from elsewhere, the

Angelic Liturgy was consistent with the Community's theology of worship and may even have inspired imitation at Qumran.²¹

WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES (4QDIBHAM^{a-c} = 4Q504–506)

Finally, we turn to a series of prayers that a Qumran scribe entitled “Words of the Luminaries” upon the reverse side of one of the manuscripts (4Q504). The earliest copy dates to near 150 B.C.E. This scroll contained a series of seven prayers ordered for the individual days of the week. Each extended series begins with the words “Remember, (O Lord)...” (cf. Pss 25:6; 89:50; 106:4; 137:7). In what follows, God is praised by reviewing the history of Israel (cf. Pss 78; 105; 106). The speaker directs these prayers in the first-person plural (“we”). They thus portray a more communal response to God than the *Thanksgiving Hymns* or *Bless, O My Soul*.

The historical reminiscences of these hymns portray God's wrath and mercy upon the people of Israel throughout their history, including the garden of Eden (col. 1), the exodus (cols. 2–3), the foundation of the Davidic dynasty (col. 15), and the exile and dispersion (col. 16). The prayers explore the necessity of divine wrath upon Israel, while also finding in God's covenant mercies hope for the future:

And their land, too, became a wasteland, due to their enemies; because your rage and your fiery anger [were po]ured out in your zealous fire.... But in spite of all this you did not reject the descendants of Jacob, nor despise Israel to destruction, annulling the covenant with them.... You remembered your covenant, for you redeemed us in the sight of the nations and did not desert us. (16.4–10)

With further pleas for forgiveness, the prayers urge God to remove the wrath that stands over the people of Israel:

O Lord, since you do wonders from eternity to eternity, may, then, your wrath and rage withdraw from us. Look at [our] d[istress], our labor and our affliction, and free your people Isra[el from all] the countries, both near and far, to which [you have exiled them]. (17.10–13)

Upon the last day of the week, the prayers conclude with “Thanksgiving hymns. A song for the Sabbath day” (18.4). Songs of joy and thanksgiving provide a fitting end to this week-long series of prayers that explore the entire history of Israel. The origin of this document remains unknown. It is among the earliest documents preserved at Qumran.

In conclusion to this survey of major writings, perhaps the best way to appreciate the literature of the Qumran Community is to recognize how diligently their writings sought to preserve and renew the biblical traditions for their own time. Rather than allowing the law and the prophets to fall into obsolescence, the Community strived to order its social life in conformity with the laws of Moses. They pursued a strict application of the Torah to daily life. They interpreted the events of their day by searching the Scriptures. They innovated new devotional writings that passionately expressed their absolute dependence upon God. In their writings, they have left behind the frail relics of their ambitious quest: to be the people of God in a world gone terribly wrong.

5

WHY ARE THE SCROLLS IMPORTANT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES?

Beyond the new writings from Qumran, the Scrolls' greatest contribution to modern study is that they preserve the earliest complete manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible and provide unprecedented vantage into how the Hebrew Scriptures were transmitted and copied. This chapter introduces the major biblical manuscripts discovered at Qumran, including a look at how individual biblical books were not simply copied but also revised, rewritten, and paraphrased. The chapter concludes with a focused look at the versions of the Psalms discovered at Qumran.

THE MOST ANCIENT BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The comprehensive range of biblical manuscripts discovered among the Scrolls is impressive. Qumran preserves at least some portion of every book of the Hebrew Bible, with only the exceptions of Esther and possibly Nehemiah. Recently, Emanuel Tov has estimated the total number of biblical manuscripts at 220.¹ Distributed among the writings of the Hebrew Bible, the following list approximates the number of copies of each biblical book:

Genesis	15–20	Psalms	39
Exodus	17	Proverbs	2
Leviticus	13	Job	4
Numbers	8	Song of Songs	4
Deuteronomy	32	Ruth	4
Joshua	2	Lamentations	4
Judges	3	Qohelet	3
Samuel	4	Esther	0
Kings	3	Daniel	8
Isaiah	21–24	Ezra	1
Jeremiah	6	Nehemiah	0
Ezekiel	6	Chronicles	1
Twelve Prophets	8 ²		

The book of Psalms, probably the principal book of worship within Second Temple Judaism, registers the highest number of manuscripts. The most abundantly attested book of the Torah is Deuteronomy. Isaiah presents the largest number of copies among the Prophets. The numerous copies of these books probably reflect their frequent use. They are also the three most frequently quoted books in other Qumran writings³ and in the New Testament (Psalms, 77 times; Isaiah, 61 times; Deuteronomy, 50).

The vast majority of Qumran biblical manuscripts are written in Hebrew. Almost all of these have been copied in Aramaic square or “Jewish” script, yet eleven to fourteen manuscripts have been copied in Paleo-Hebrew script (e.g., 4QpaleoExod^m = 4Q22; 11QpaleoLev^a = 11Q1). The Paleo-Hebrew manuscripts are comprised mostly of books of the Torah and one copy of Job. Tov has suggested that Paleo-Hebrew manuscripts were not copied by members of the Qumran Community but were imported from elsewhere.⁴ In addition to Hebrew manuscripts, a tiny number of Greek manuscripts (only 3 percent of all writings) were also preserved by the Community.⁵

Prior to the discovery of the Scrolls, scholars possessed no complete biblical manuscripts from this era. Instead, understandings of the Hebrew Bible’s history and development were based upon comparisons between three ancient textual traditions. These include the Masoretic or rabbinic tradition, which later emerged as the authoritative text in Judaism; the Samaritan tradition, a version of the Torah later adopted by the Samaritan community as their canonical Scriptures; and the Septuagintal tradition, a version of the Hebrew Scriptures that served as the basis for the Septuagint—the Greek translation of the Scriptures. These text traditions were available only in copies from late antiquity and medieval times.

The Qumran biblical manuscripts thus illumined a dark void in manuscript development and offered examples that resemble each of these three great textual traditions. As Emanuel Tov and Frank Cross have affirmed, the largest number of biblical manuscripts resemble the Masoretic or rabbinic tradition.⁶ Thus, they are often described as “proto-Masoretic” or “proto-rabbinic.” The shorter Isaiah scroll from Cave 1 (1QIsa^b = 1Q8) is virtually identical to the later Masoretic Text. Tov estimates that approximately 40 percent of all Qumran biblical manuscripts represent a proto-Masoretic form of the biblical text.⁷ A smaller number of “proto-Samaritan” manuscripts agree with the Samaritan tradition.⁸ Other copies resemble the text tradition that served as the basis for the Septuagint.⁹ This includes the remarkable 4QSam^a (4Q51), which reveals a striking passage between 1 Sam 10 and 11 omitted from the Masoretic text and later copies of the Septuagint, yet faithfully described by Josephus (*Ant.* 6.68–71). This passage, which describes the atrocities of Nahash the Ammonite, was lost for centuries in Hebrew, preserved only by Josephus in Greek, and finally rediscovered in modern times among the Scrolls.

In addition to texts resembling these ancient versions, Qumran revealed new biblical texts that cannot be clearly identified with any of these three known traditions. Tov posits that a number of these represent the work of a distinctive Qumran scribal school.¹⁰ Scribes employing “Qumran practice” may well have used proto-Masoretic texts as their sources, yet they have often altered them into a distinctive tradition. Other “nonaligned” manuscripts cohere to no recognizable tendencies in textual transmission.¹¹

Taken together, the biblical manuscripts from Qumran illustrate several crucial features of scriptural development. First, the phenomenon of *textual plurality* prevailed at Qumran. Those who preserved the Scrolls kept copies of a number of different manuscript traditions.¹² This suggests that there was no “standard” version of the Scriptures in this period but rather a plurality of different textual traditions with thousands of different readings in circulation at the same time. Second, amid Qumran’s textual plurality, the proto-Masoretic tradition is the most widely attested tradition at Qumran. The widespread transmission that would make the Masoretic tradition Judaism’s most authoritative text was, therefore, already underway at Qumran prior to the Common Era. Finally, if some manuscripts represent the work of a Qumran scribal school, then one may speculate that the Community was genuinely dedicated to the production of its own editions of biblical texts.

This comprehensive overview helps us to appreciate how the Bible was read and preserved. Yet what were individual biblical manuscripts like during this time in history? Without question, the most impressive biblical manuscript from Qumran is the *Great Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a). The style of writing in which *Great Isaiah* is written suggests that it was originally copied during Hasmonean times, around 125 B.C.E., possibly earlier.¹³ It thus registers as the earliest complete biblical manuscript available to modern study. *Great Isaiah* has provided over one thousand variant readings of particular words and passages when compared with the Masoretic Text. Tov classifies *Great Isaiah* as an exemplar of Qumran scribal habits, especially in its corrective practices.¹⁴

The scroll comprises fifty-four columns of text, written upon seventeen sheets of leather parchment that have been stitched together to form a vast scroll over 7 meters in length and 26 centimeters in height. Some torn sections were stitched back together long after its initial copying (see col. 11). At least two scribes originally copied *Great Isaiah*, one who copied the first twenty-seven columns (Isa 1–33) and another who completed the scroll. Approximately twenty-nine to thirty-two lines have been written in each column, with each line comprising fifty-five to sixty-five letter spaces. Portions of the scroll still faintly reveal the “ruling lines” that helped its copyists keep their writing straight as they copied line upon line. Often blank spaces are left at the ends of individual lines to indicate major subdivisions of the text. Scholars call this scribal practice

“paragraphing.” The paragraphing in *Great Isaiah*, in fact, closely resembles the verse divisions of the later Masoretic Text.

One important feature of *Great Isaiah* is the amount of textual correction it exhibits. Just as we often make mistakes when copying or typing information, ancient scribes made mistakes when copying manuscripts. Given the phenomenon of textual plurality during this time, it was also possible for scribes to correct readings in one manuscript by consulting those of another. Thus, one is not surprised to find hundreds of corrections in *Great Isaiah*. Methods of correction in the scroll include supralinear corrections (added “above the line”), numerous strike-throughs, overwriting, and the use of small dots (“cancellation dots”) above, and often below, incorrect letters.

These corrections derive not only from the original scribes who copied the scroll but also from at least three additional hands.¹⁵ The earliest of these hands is surprisingly well known from other Qumran manuscripts. Active in the early first century B.C.E. (ca. 100–75), the same prolific scribe who originally copied the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) has also corrected portions of *Great Isaiah* (see 28.25; 33.7; 44.15–16). The work of this scribe has also been traced to another Qumran writing, the *Testimonia* (4QTestim = 4Q175), and a copy of the book of Samuel (4QSam^c = 4Q53). One interesting characteristic of this scribe was his preference for rendering the Tetragrammaton, not in consonants, but with four dots. This feature reflects a heightened sense of veneration for the divine name in the practice of this scribe. Another corrector of *Great Isaiah* was active near the middle of the first century B.C.E. (see 32.14; 33.14–16, 19). Finally, a third scribe corrected additional passages late in the same century B.C.E. (28.19).¹⁶

Despite these corrections, *Great Isaiah* was apparently not viewed as a “vulgar” or “corrupt” manuscript; instead, it was found carefully enclosed in linen and stored in a pottery vessel in Cave 1. *Great Isaiah* not only provides our most impressive biblical manuscript from Qumran; it also visibly attests to how faithful hands studied, corrected, repaired, and transmitted this document for an entire century after it was originally copied.

ANTHOLOGIES, REWRITING, AND TRANSLATION

In addition to copies of biblical writings, there are other important “biblical” finds at Qumran. These include writings that take the biblical text as their point of departure, yet alter it in significant ways. At least three forms of alteration are common. First, several writings gather scriptural passages together from different contexts, forming anthologies that highlight selected themes. Other works illustrate the practice of rewriting continuous sections of biblical text. Third, Qumran also preserves scriptural translations from Hebrew into Aramaic that resemble the later Jewish Targums. These three kinds of applied texts show

that scribes of this period were ardent students of Scripture who could refashion biblical texts with surprising freedom to meet the needs of their own time.

Two examples of scriptural anthologies include the *Testimonia* and the *Consolations*. The *Testimonia* (4QTestim = 4Q175) lists on a single sheet of parchment a series of quotations (without commentary) that illumine a common theme. These quotations include a proto-Samaritan version of Exod 20:21b and Deut 18:18–19, followed by quotations from Num 24:15–17, Deut 33:8–11, and an extrabiblical writing known as the *Apocryphon of Joshua*. Our scribe has, therefore, presented these texts in a sequence reflecting the order of the biblical narrative from Sinai to conquest (Exodus–Joshua). *Testimonia* was penned approximately 100–75 B.C.E. by the same scribe who copied the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and made numerous corrections to *Great Isaiah*. Surprisingly, the previously unknown *Apocryphon of Joshua* was worthy to be cited alongside passages from the Torah.

What “common theme” do these verses illumine? The quotation from Exod 20:21b/Deut 18:18–19 envisions a coming prophet like Moses (cf. *Rule of the Community* 9.11; *Melchizedek*). The quotations from Num 24:15–17 and Deut 33:8–11 express the hope of two ideal rulers of the people, the first a royal-militant leader and the second an ideal priest. Such an arrangement of separate royal and priestly rulers is consistent with the diarchal messianism expressed elsewhere at Qumran. Finally, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* reveals the activity of an enemy, perhaps the Wicked Priest. Taken together, these quotations may have comprised a series of “proof-texts” for anticipating the rise of eschatological figures.

The *Consolations* (4QTanhumim = 4Q176) illustrate a similar kind of anthology. After a title that identifies the content of this work as “Consolations from the book of Isaiah,” a scribe has copied a number of quotations that highlight the theme of consolation so important to Isa 40–55. Perhaps *Consolations* provided a series of quotations that offered comfort for the Community in the latter days. The citations, in fact, begin with Isa 40:1–4, a passage that figures prominently as an expression of the Community’s latter-day vocation in the wilderness.

Scriptural anthologies like the *Testimonia* and *Consolations* have led scholars to recognize that a wider range of “excerpted” or “abbreviated” texts existed at Qumran. These include a number of “biblical” manuscripts that have selected only particular texts for presentation. Especially common are copies of key texts from the Torah and Psalms.¹⁷ The Qumran phylactery texts or *tefillin* (4QPhyl A–U = 4Q128–148, 1QPhyl = 1Q13, 8QPhyl = 8Q3), for example, are specifically excerpted from the Torah to be worn in small leather boxes attached to the head or arm in fulfillment of Deut 6:8 (see *Letter of Aristeas* 158–159; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.213; Matt 23:5). These manuscripts contain selected quotations of key confessional texts from the Torah (Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–

21).¹⁸ Texts attached to doorposts in fulfillment of Deut 6:9, *mezuzot*, have also been found (4QMez A–G = 4Q149–155; 8QMez = 8Q4). The *Testimonia* and *Consolations*, together with other excerpted texts from Qumran, probably served a variety of uses within the Community, as biblical texts were adapted to the needs of communal instruction, ritual, and worship.

The Scrolls have also revealed the practice of rewriting, augmenting, or paraphrasing continuous portions of biblical text. It is difficult to find a comprehensive definition that applies to all the writings that fall into this category, although there have been noble attempts.¹⁹ George Brooke defined the basic characteristics of the rewritten Bible at Qumran as (1) close rendering of the biblical text, which serves as the primary basis for the rewriting process, and (2) implicit interpretation of the biblical text through harmonization, expansion, paraphrasing, and rearranging of materials.²⁰ Textual rewriting is actually already apparent in the Hebrew Bible itself in Deuteronomy, which provides its own rewriting of earlier legal traditions, and in Chronicles, which retells the stories of Kings from its own perspective. Elsewhere at Qumran, *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* represent remarkable new documents that were produced through the practice of rewriting.

The following list summarizes some of the most important writings that exhibit the features of rewritten biblical manuscripts.

REWORKED PENTATEUCH^{A–E} (4Q158, 364–367)

These manuscripts comprise the remains of an originally vast scroll in which numerous portions of the Torah have been expanded and rearranged. Among the most interesting departures from the biblical text are Rebekah's tearful farewell to her son Jacob and the actual content of Miriam's Song at the sea.

GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1QAPGEN = 1Q20)

This Aramaic reworking of numerous episodes from Gen 15–25 is strongly influenced by many of the same traditions contained in *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*. The work is highly entertaining in its expansions, rising even to the level of poetry in its praise for the beauty of Sarah.

APOCRYPHON OF JOSHUA (4Q378–379; 4Q522; 5Q9; 4Q123)

Tov has identified several writings as the remains of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, a creative retelling of the conquest of the land.² The author of the *Testimonia* regarded this work as possessing sufficient authority to be cited alongside passages of the Torah.

PSEUDO-EZEKIEL (4Q385–388, 391)

This writing portrays a creative retelling of Ezekiel's chariot visions and the valley of dry bones that reflects the influence of apocalyptic motifs, including resurrection (see chapters 6 and 7).

Many other fascinating specimens of rewriting are also attested.²² This diverse collection illustrates that rewritten biblical manuscripts exist for a surprising number of books from the Torah and Prophets. Some of these writings employ only very strict and minimalistic alterations of the biblical text (e.g., *Reworked Pentateuch*), while others depart from the text with a free and creative hand (e.g., *Genesis Apocryphon*). It remains uncertain what level of textual authority rewritten biblical manuscripts held at Qumran and in Judaism at large. In many cases, these works differ so little from known biblical manuscripts that one could only read them as possessing equal authority to other books in the Hebrew Bible. Rewritten biblical materials could even be quoted as authoritative Scripture (e.g., *Testimonia* quotes *Apocryphon of Joshua*; *Damascus Document* quotes *Jubilees*). It seems a safe assumption that ancient readers had the freedom to regard rewritten materials as authoritative, if and when they chose to do so.

Finally, Qumran preserves Aramaic translations of biblical books. They are often called "Targums," due to their resemblance to the great rabbinical Targums *Onqelos*, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and *Neofiti*. The Scrolls have thus shown that the practice of targumic paraphrase originated in the Second Temple period. The Scrolls attest one undisputed Targum available in two copies: the *Targum of Job* (11QTgJb = 11Q10; 4Q157 = 4QTgJb). The manuscripts date to the first century C.E. The *Targum* provides a careful Aramaic translation/paraphrase of Job, with a few interpretive twists of its own. As A. S. van der Woude has carefully observed, the God of the *Targum* is in stronger control of human affairs than the book of Job might indicate (cf. 11QTgJob 34.4 with Job 40:8). Likewise, Job himself has a better conceptual grasp on the mystery of his suffering (cf. 11QTgJob 37.8–9 with Job 42:6).²³ Another manuscript copied around 150 B.C.E. has been putatively classified as a *Targum of Leviticus* (4Q156). Either this text presents the remains of a Targum on Lev 16:12–15, 18–21, or it was part of an Aramaic legal writing concerning the Day of Atonement. If 4Q156 is, indeed, a Targum, then it would stretch the origins of targumic practice as early as 150 B.C.E.

FOCUS POINT: THE PSALMS AT QUMRAN

The beginning of this chapter has already indicated that no biblical writing is preserved in more numerous copies than Psalms. Yet the Qumran versions

of Psalms differ radically from their presentation in Bibles today and, in fact, include psalms previously unknown to modern readers.

Along with well over thirty additional copies from Qumran, the *Great Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11 (11QPs^a = 11Q5), copied in the first century C.E., has given scholars unprecedented vantage into the growth and development of the Psalms. Two immediate surprises encounter the reader of this scroll. First, this scroll preserves an ordering of Pss 93–150 that is very different from that of the Masoretic Psalter, the version of Psalms found in the Hebrew Bible today. Second, the *Great Psalms Scroll*, along with other Qumran Psalms manuscripts (4QPs^f = 4Q88; 11QPs^b = 11Q6; cf. 4Q380–381; 11QapocPs = 11Q11), contained psalms that are not even present at all within the Masoretic Psalter.

Among these extra-Masoretic psalms, some were previously known from the Septuagintal Psalter (Ps 151), from the book of Samuel (2 Sam 23:1–7, “David’s Last Words”), from Ben Sira (51:13–30), and from the Syriac Psalter (Pss 154–155). Most of these surround the person of David. Yet Ben Sira 51 is a wisdom psalm that pursues an eros motif (e.g., “I became ablaze for her... [I] loosed my ‘hand.’ ... her nakedness I explored”). Its inclusion into the Scroll may suggest that it was originally an independent composition, included both in Ben Sira and in the *Great Psalms Scroll*. Four additional psalms, however, were previously unknown, including a “Plea for Deliverance,” “Apostrophe to Zion,” “Hymn to the Creator,” and “David’s Compositions.”

Taken together, the comprehensive ordering of these materials in the *Great Psalms Scroll* is as follows: Pss 101; 102; 103; 109; 118; 104; 147; 105; 146; 148; [120]; 121–132; 119; 135; 136; 118; 145; 154; “Plea for Deliverance”; 139; 137; 138; Ben Sira 51; “Apostrophe to Zion”; 93; 141; 133; 144; 155; 142; 143; 149; 150; “Hymn to the Creator”; 2 Sam 23:1–7; “David’s Compositions”; 140; 134; 151. The scroll ends with an extended blank at the bottom of the page, indicating that this was the intended conclusion of the scroll. The portion of the *Great Psalms Scroll* that most closely resembles the Masoretic Psalter contains the “Songs of Ascent” (Pss 120–132). This commonality between the *Great Psalms Scroll* and the Masoretic Psalter attests to the relative stability of the “Songs of Ascent” among ancient versions of the Psalms. Yet beyond this particular unit, the *Great Psalms Scroll* illustrates a high degree of variability in both the content and order of the Psalms. Why was this Psalms scroll so different? The surprising order of these materials in the most complete ancient Psalms scroll has inspired a major rethinking of how the Psalms developed in ancient times. At least two schools of thought have emerged.

James Sanders, who originally edited the scroll in the 1960s, proposed the theory that the *Great Psalms Scroll* represented a different ancient edition of the Psalms, with different contents and a different ordering of chapters 90 and following. Sanders originally suggested that this edition was compiled by the

men of Qumran themselves, especially since “David’s Compositions” contained explicit reference to the 364-day solar year popular with the Community; later, however, he considered the possibility that the edition presented in the *Great Psalms Scroll* existed prior to Qumran and was adopted by the Community from a wider circulation.²⁴

From the beginning, however, another assessment of the *Psalms Scroll* was offered: that the *Great Psalms Scroll* did not represent a different textual version of Psalms but was instead a liturgical collection of various hymnic texts, not unlike the scriptural anthologies and excerpted texts described above.²⁵ Whether Sanders or his critics will have the final advantage on this question remains a matter of current debate. What is more certain is that the discovery of the *Great Psalms Scroll* has dramatically stretched previous understandings of the canonicity, transmission, and use of the book of Psalms.

The scroll even shows that nine previously unknown psalms were held in equivalent status alongside biblical psalms. At least two of these are prayers of “apostrophe,” in which the speaker addresses Zion or Judah with blessings:

I remember you for blessing, O Zion. I have loved you with all my strength. May your memory be blessed forever! ... Generation after generation shall dwell in you.... At your glorious breast they shall suckle, and they shall scamper about your marvelous squares. (22.1–6; cf. 4Q88 7–8; 11Q6 6)

A similar “Apostrophe to Judah” is also attested (4Q88 10). A “Hymn to the Creator” praises the majesty of the deity in the works of creation (cf. Ps 89):

Great and holy are you, O LORD, the most holy from generation to generation.... Faithfulness and truth surround his face; truth and justice and righteousness are the foundation of his throne. He separated light from darkness, the dawn he established by the knowledge of his heart.... Blessed is he who makes the earth by his might, who establishes the world in his wisdom. (26.1–14)

A “Plea for Deliverance” offers a number of humble petitions to God:

Forgive my sin, O LORD, and purify me from my guilt. Grant to me a spirit of faithfulness and knowledge. Let me not stumble in iniquity. Let not Satan have dominion over me, nor a spirit of iniquity. (19; 11Q6 frgs. 4–5)

This psalm prays for forgiveness of sins and deliverance from evil, not unlike the Lord’s Prayer. The “Compositions of David” illustrates the significance of David in the scroll (col. 27), including the claim that he composed the Psalms “by prophecy.” The “Compositions” may also indicate how the individual units in this collection might have been coordinated with a 364-day solar calendar

as the proper context for worship. References to four psalms to be performed over “the afflicted” may refer to psalms such as Ps 91 that were believed to grant power against evil spirits.

6

WHY ARE THE SCROLLS IMPORTANT FOR UNDERSTANDING SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM?

Prior to the discovery of the Scrolls, scholars studying Judaism in the Second Temple period typically had seven sources of evidence at their disposal: (1) the latest writings of the Hebrew Bible, such as Daniel; (2) the Apocrypha (e.g., Ben Sira) and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*); (3) Philo of Alexandria and Josephus; (4) archaeology and inscriptions; (5) pagan authors; (6) the New Testament; and (7) the later writings of the rabbis.

In spite of the immense value of these sources, they yield only a fractional amount of material that derives directly from Palestinian Jews living prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. The discovery of the Scrolls increased exponentially the number of ancient writings that derive from Jews living in the land of Palestine during this era. The Scrolls thus stand as an impressive “eighth” column of evidence for helping us understand what Judaism was like during this crucial period. The importance of this contribution remains titanic for understanding the Western heritage even to this day, since Second Temple Judaism was the cradle that nurtured nascent rabbinical Judaism and Christianity, two great world faiths that continue to shape our world today.

The value of the Scrolls consists largely in its contribution to two particular areas of study in the history of Judaism. First, the Scrolls have provided a priceless “insider” perspective into the issues and conflicts that generated new religious and political parties in Second Temple Judaism. Second, the Scrolls have also contributed primary literary sources for the study of Jewish literature and theology in this period. This contribution has been especially meaningful for understanding the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as previously unknown wisdom and apocalyptic compositions. In the present chapter, the Scrolls’ contributions to each of these issues is introduced.

PARTIES AND CONFLICTS

During the Hellenistic reform and Maccabean Revolt, something happened to Judaism. While Palestine remained remarkably peaceful during the

Persian (538–332 B.C.E.) and Ptolemaic (ca. 300–198 B.C.E.) eras, the Seleucids, especially under Antiochus IV, brought radical changes that would leave their permanent impression. Not only was Judaism split between pro-Hellenistic and pro-Maccabean factions during the Revolt, but in the decades following the Revolt new factions continued to flourish, including the Qumran group, other Essene communities, Pharisees, Sadducees, and other movements. This flourishing of dissident religious and political movements within Judaism would continue into the Roman period with the Fourth Philosophy, Sicarii, Zealots, and the Jesus movement. Although small in proportion to the larger population, these parties played important, and often explosive, roles in Judaism.

In reading the Scrolls, we have direct access into the decisive issues that led at least one of these groups to reject the prevailing political and religious settlement of their time and to hope for the establishment of a new order sanctioned by God. In his classic study of Judaism, E. P. Sanders lists three key issues that motivated the formation of new religious parties: (1) *Hellenization* divided many Jews over how fully they should accommodate to Greek (and later Roman) culture; (2) for *the law* of Moses to be practiced, it had to be interpreted in terms of daily life, thus leading to rival interpretations of the Torah; (3) conflicts over the *high priesthood* developed during the Hellenistic reform and remained controversial in following generations.¹ One might imagine that in antiquity these issues generated the same kinds of heated debates and political divisions that issues in the “culture wars” have posed for Americans for decades. Judaism’s struggles over these defining issues are illustrated in distinctive ways among the Scrolls.

As Martin Hengel’s monumental study has shown, Judaism in Palestine could not escape *the pervasive economic, political, and cultural influence of Hellenism* in the Near East.² Judaism had to come to terms with this new force, and it would do so in a variety of expressions for centuries. Throughout the writings preserved at Qumran, an intense form of anti-Hellenism prevails. Not only is the final destruction of Gentile armies eagerly anticipated, but many daily interactions with Gentiles are rejected in the Scrolls. An almost “xenophobic” anti-Hellenism pervades the *Temple Scroll’s* “Statutes of the King” (56.12–59.21): only a Jewish ruler was acceptable to the author of these laws; intermarriage with “the daughters of the nations” is strictly forbidden; and foreign mercenaries, popular among the Hasmoneans and Hellenistic kings, are prohibited. Other legal rulings reject commerce with Gentiles (*Damascus Document* 12.6–11) and prohibit the use of Gentile produce at the Jerusalem temple (*Some of the Works of the Torah* B 3–5, 8–9).

Such anti-Hellenism at Qumran would have distanced the Community from other sectors of Judaism that were more receptive to Hellenism. There is direct evidence of this in the Scrolls themselves, where the *Commentary on*

Hosea^a accuses its opponents of following “the appointed times of the Gentiles” (2.15–17). One can, thus, imagine that members of the Community would have had little to say to the authorship of the *Letter of Aristeas* or Philo of Alexandria, Jewish apologists who encouraged a positive appropriation of Hellenism. The Community’s anti-Hellenism would also have conflicted with the fashionable aristocratic cultures formed by the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great, who imitated the ways of Hellenistic royal houses. Qumran’s anti-Hellenism, including its limited use of Greek, would further have marginalized the Community in a social environment in which Greek was the *lingua franca* of those who held power and influence.³

The legal writings among the Scrolls indicate the extent to which the Qumran group’s distinctive identity was shaped over conflicts about *the proper interpretation of the laws* of Moses. In his introduction to Judaism, Shaye Cohen identifies marriage, sacred calendar, and purity among the most controversial points of legal interpretation in this period.⁴ Each of these is well illustrated among the Scrolls. *Some of the Works of the Torah* suggests that legal controversies were at the very heart of Qumran’s emergence. Its authors diverged from “the priests of Jerusalem” on legal questions ranging from the proper calendar for worship to marital laws for the priesthood. The *Damascus Document*’s “three nets” of Belial (4.15–19) also shows how wealth, matrimonial law, and temple practices were fierce boundary issues between Qumran and its opponents. Although *Some of the Works of the Torah* is characterized by an enlightened and even congenial tone, the *Rule of the Community*, the pesharim, the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, and the *Damascus Document* view the legal errors of outsiders as endemic within a world that now lives under the dominion of evil. Thus, the Qumran group’s strict legal practice was even further intensified by an apocalyptic view of reality: The legal differences between conflicting parties were expressions of the latter-day conflict of good and evil within the creation.

Throughout Second Temple religion and politics, *the high priest* remained Judaism’s most consistently authoritative figure. For this very reason, conflicts within Judaism were often reflected upon the office of the high priest. Even before the formation of the Qumran group, the Hellenistic reform had radically changed the priesthood through bribery and intrigue (2 Macc 4:1–5:27, Josephus, *Ant.* 12.237–241). The eventual ascent of the Hasmoneans, a priestly family of specious origins, only further confirmed that Judaism’s most authoritative office had fallen into the hands of those who could take it by force. The writings of the Community convey a number of fascinating attitudes toward the priesthood. These attitudes contain both a negative polemic and a positive self-affirmation.

The first Scrolls discovered highly accentuated Qumran’s *negative polemic* against the priesthood. This is especially the case with the *Commentary on*

Habakkuk. The Community's grievances against Jerusalem's "Wicked Priest" are repeatedly emphasized in this pesher: although he was once called "by the true name," the Priest has defiled the sanctuary of God—among other nefarious crimes (8.8–9.3; 9.8–10.5; 11.2–12.10). Further accusations are also leveled at the larger company of priests in Jerusalem who serve under his evil rule (9.3–7). Qumran's original polemic against the priesthood was probably directed against early Hasmoneans, like Jonathan or Simon, yet this rejection of priestly authority permanently energized the ideology of the Community. Even in later generations, they continued to reject the authority of the Jerusalem priesthood.

Despite the tone of bitter rejection that appeared in some of the first Scrolls discovered, at least two more recently published writings exhibit a more open-minded attitude toward the priesthood. First, *Some of the Works of the Torah* addresses its criticisms of legal practices in a surprisingly congenial fashion. Although it regards the Jerusalem priests to be in error, it foresees the possibility of change. In the latter days, those who are in error will return to the law and be forgiven (4QMMT C). If this writing takes us close to the origins of the Community, it indicates that the original separation of the group was far more diplomatic than other Scrolls might suggest. Such diplomacy would fail. The priests did not change; instead, tensions only escalated, leading to the more vitriolic polemics found in other writings. The power of Belial to deceive even the leading priests of Jerusalem had prevailed.

A second writing that implies a congenial attitude toward the high priests is the so-called *Prayer for King Jonathan* (4Q448). Countervailing the Qumran antipathy to the priesthood, this liturgical document actually prays for "King Jonathan." Most scholars agree that this "Jonathan" is either Jonathan the first Hasmonean high priest (Puech)⁶ or his later successor Alexander Jannaeus (Flusser and Kister).⁷ In either case, the *Prayer* is shocking: it actually prays for a priest whom other Qumran writings portray as a "wicked" defiler of the temple. It is possible that this brief writing originated outside of the Community. This would explain its unusual solidarity with the Hasmoneans. Or perhaps, like *Some of the Works of the Torah*, it points toward an earlier stage in Qumran ideology, when the harsh bitterness between the Community and the Hasmoneans had not yet fully ignited.

When many contemporary readers encounter the harsh polemics of Qumran literature for the first time, they often emerge with a distorted image of the Community as a fringe political protest group whose ideology was primarily negative. This impression is entirely understandable, yet it is equally mistaken. The Qumran Community's attitude toward the priesthood is not only expressed in a negative polemic. It also consists of an extraordinarily *positive and visionary affirmation* of the Community's own identity in the latter days. The Community did more than simply reject the existing Jerusalem priesthood. They envisioned

a new priestly order in which God would restore righteousness in the land; they believed themselves to be an anticipatory part of that new order; and they sought to live out their own priestly vocation in the wilderness Community as an expression of this hope.

Repeatedly, the authors of the Scrolls describe members of their order as “Sons of Zadok,” the priestly party that had prevailed over the temple from the restoration until the upheavals of the Hellenistic reform (Ezek 40:46; 44:15–26; 48:11). Furthermore, the “Sons of Aaron” and “Levites” are given a prominent role in numerous writings, as are “priests” in general.⁸ The Righteous Teacher himself is even assumed to have been a priest (*Commentary on Psalms*^a 4.15–17). The Community also preserved among their writings a number of *mishmarot*, calendrical schedules of the necessary “watches” or “courses” for priests who serve in the temple (4QMishmarot A–I = 4Q320–326, 4Q328–330). These distinctively priestly concerns suggest that the Community understood itself to be a priestly movement.

The Community also understood its work in the wilderness in explicitly priestly terms. In spite of the false priesthood in Jerusalem, God was not without faithful priests during the dominion of Belial. In the wilderness, there were priests whose suffering and worship atoned for the land (*Rule of the Community* 5.1–7; 8.3–10; 9.3–6), who functioned as a living sanctuary, offering the sacrifice of pure worship to God (*Florilegium* 1.6–7; *Rule of the Community* 8.8–10). They communed with angels in heavenly purity (*Rule of the Community* 11.7–9; *Rule of Blessings* 3.25–26; 4.24–26; cf. *Thanksgiving Hymns*; *Angelic Liturgy*; *Blessings*^{a–e}), and strictly delineated the clean from the unclean without compromise (*Rule of the Community* 5.13; 6.16–17; *Rule of the Congregation* 3.3–10; *Damascus Document* 12.19; 15.15–17). Moreover, through writings like the *Temple Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem*, the men of the Community actively envisioned what a restored Jerusalem would look like after the demise of wickedness. Such claims imply that the Community viewed itself as a kind of “priesthood in exile” that would function as God’s legitimate priesthood in the land, until the new order would finally dawn.

Qumran’s responses to Hellenization, legal controversy, and the priesthood distinguished this Community from other religious movements of its time. One may imagine that other groups could address the very same issues and arrive at divergent conclusions. Not only did Qumran’s conceptual responses to the issues separate them from other contemporary movements in Judaism; their behavioral response took on the distinctive sociological structure of a separatist community living in sacred isolation in the wilderness. Other religious parties in Judaism might have agreed with the men of Qumran on certain issues. To be sure, resistance to the Hasmoneans was not exclusive to Qumran (*Ant.* 13.288–299; 13.372–386). Yet the Qumran Community remains unique among various

movements that emerged in Judaism during the Hellenistic period. To our present knowledge, no other group combined such a distinctive blend of fierce anti-Hellenism, strict legal practice, and priestly self-understanding together with the response of isolation.

Qumran's uniqueness within a context in which other movements were also flourishing has led scholars to recognize the diversity of Judaism in this era. Qumran has made it problematic to view the emergence of the Pharisees as the defining characteristic of this period, as the eminent studies by Emil Schürer and George Foot Moore once did before the discovery of the Scrolls.⁹ Rather than being primarily controlled by Pharisaic teaching, with only a few unconventional "sects" opposing them, Judaism surged with a number of dynamic religious traditions that pursued a broad range of religious and political options. Alongside Qumran, one must imagine other Essene communities responding to the crises of their time in a different way. Pharisees took their interpretation of the Torah into the cities and synagogues of the land, while Sadducees concentrated their devotions in the temple. Jews unaffiliated with these groups pursued other alternatives. Among these, John the Baptist and the Jesus movement arose, as did a number of miscellaneous holy men, prophets, sages, messiahs, and exorcists. In time, the more revolutionary movements of the Fourth Philosophy, the Zealots, the Sicarii, and miscellaneous "bandits" gained momentum. All the while, an elite aristocracy struggled to maintain an increasingly fragile balance of power between local control and imperial loyalty—until the balance could hold no more.

APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

In addition to providing an "insider" perspective into the key issues that generated the formation of religious parties in the Second Temple period, the Scrolls have also contributed new manuscript evidence for the writings of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Today, the "Apocrypha" is accepted (with varying contents) as part of Holy Scripture in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Slavonic Bibles. Among Protestants and Jews, it is read only for historical or ethical purposes. The "Pseudepigrapha" is a collection of quasi-scriptural writings that were often studied with high regard in antiquity but currently do not serve as canonical Scripture for the vast majority of Christians and Jews. The Qumran Community, of course, did not know the terms "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha." Instead, they studied several of these writings as sacred literature alongside our present canonical books.

The most prominent books of the Apocrypha found among the Scrolls are Ben Sira and Tobit. Together with Masada and the Cairo Genizah, Qumran has supplied two additional Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira (2Q18; 11Q5). In

the *Great Psalms Scroll*, the hymn to Lady Wisdom in Ben Sira 51 is included together with portions of the book of Psalms. In this particular scroll, Ben Sira 51 seems to have held an importance equal to that of Psalms, yet one must also note that we have no current example of a Qumran writing that quotes Ben Sira as an authoritative document. Perhaps Ben Sira was read and studied alongside other wisdom compositions, which were popular at Qumran. Tobit is well attested among the Scrolls in four Aramaic manuscripts and one Hebrew translation (4QTob^{a-c} = 4Q196–4Q200). Several features of Tobit may have made it popular with the Qumran group: piety in an age of false worship, demonology, and appropriate marital practices are all important issues in this work. Portions of the Epistle of Jeremiah, a polemical work condemning idolatry, are attested in Greek (7Q2). Psalm 151, found in Greek versions of the Psalms, found a prominent place at the end of the *Great Psalms Scroll*.

Many apocryphal works, however, are not attested at Qumran, including 2 Esdras (4 *Ezra*), Wisdom of Solomon, 1–4 Maccabees, Additions to Esther and Daniel, and Judith. Perhaps this is because several of these writings originated outside of Palestine. Others were only composed late in the history of Qumran. The Maccabean literature and Judith, which promote a pro-Hasmonean agenda, could have been omitted for polemical reasons.¹⁰

If the Scrolls seem thin in their inventory of Apocrypha, they have abundantly compensated for this in copies of the Pseudepigrapha. In the case of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, the Scrolls have proven essential for understanding the history of these writings. They have also shown how powerfully *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* shaped the religious imagination of Second Temple Judaism.

Portions of the apocalypse of *1 Enoch* are attested in at least seven manuscripts from Cave 4, dating paleographically from around 200 B.C.E. until the turn of the era. Included among these manuscripts are portions of four of the main compositions that have been brought together to form the apocalypse of *1 Enoch*. These include portions of the “Book of Watchers” (1–36), which describes how evil entered into the creation through the fall of the Watcher angels (cf. Gen 6:1–8); the “Epistle of Enoch” (92–105), in which Enoch writes a letter of exhortation to future generations, including the “Apocalypse of Weeks” (93.1–10; 91.11–17); and the “Dream Visions” (or “Beast Apocalypse”; 83–90), containing apocalyptic visions in which Israel’s history and future are portrayed in the symbolic form of animals. Qumran has also preserved copies of the same solar-based astronomical document featured in *1 En.* 72–82, the book of “Heavenly Luminaries” (4QEnAstr^{a-d} = 4Q208–211); however, these are all preserved in manuscripts that are separate from other portions of *1 Enoch*.

Missing from the Qumran Enoch materials are the “Similitudes of Enoch” (37–71), a collection of apocalyptic parables that hail the future advent of the

Son of Man and Messiah. Since the Similitudes were absent from Qumran, J. T. Milik proposed that such references to messianic figures betrayed a much later Christian authorship.¹¹ This theory, however, has been largely rejected. Instead, the Similitudes belong to the world of Jewish apocalypticism near the turn of the era.¹² Their absence from Qumran remains unexplained.

The influence of *1 Enoch* at Qumran is evident in more than simply the number of manuscripts preserved. The same ideas found in *1 Enoch* are conspicuously pervasive among the Scrolls. The *Damascus Document* shares the same premise that evil first entered into the creation through the fall of the Watcher angels (2.14–8.21). The *Pesher on the Periods* reflects a similar interpretation of primeval history. The *Book of Giants* (see below) provides a more thorough rendition of the myth of the Watchers. The *Genesis Apocryphon* is also concerned with events just prior to the great flood (cf. 1QNoah = 1Q19).

The popularity of such “Enochic” ideas and writings at Qumran has raised the question of whether the Qumran group was related in some way to the original authors of *1 Enoch*. G. W. E. Nickelsburg has even suggested that “at least some members of the Qumran Community stood in historical continuity with the authors of the Enochic corpus.”¹³ Whether or not a genealogical relationship between the two groups can be affirmed, the presence of *1 Enoch* at Qumran certainly attests to the broad popularity of this apocalyptic tradition among insurgent religious movements like Qumran in the first and second centuries B.C.E.. This popularity is well illustrated even in Christian origins through the influence of *1 Enoch* upon Jude (vv. 6, 14–15), 2 Peter (2:4–10), the *Epistle of Barnabas* (4.3; 16.5), and numerous church fathers.¹⁴

Another writing from the Pseudepigrapha ranks among the most cherished documents preserved by the Community. The book of *Jubilees* contains a creative retelling of the contents of Gen 1–Exod 19 that is mediated as a heavenly revelation to Moses at Sinai. In this retelling, *Jubilees* promotes its own interpretation of Israel’s law and history. Central to the work is its reading of sacred history: the world’s chronology has been “sabbatically” structured according to forty-nine-year Jubilee cycles (see Lev 25). The authorship of *Jubilees* was clearly familiar with the Enochic corpus, especially its astronomical work, the fall of the Watchers, and other traditions (*Jub.* 4.15–26). James C. VanderKam’s edition of the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts attests at least fourteen preserved copies.¹⁵ The popularity of this work at Qumran is clear, when one recognizes that this number of copies ranks more highly than several texts from the Hebrew Bible itself!

The kinship between *Jubilees* and other writings preserved by the Community is apparent. First, *Jubilees* advocates a solar-based calendar, as do many other Scrolls—although *Jubilees* is even more strict than these, since it forbids any lunar calculations from being followed whatsoever (*Jub.* 6.20–38). Second, *Jubilees* is quoted as an authoritative source in the *Damascus Document* (16.2–4). Such a

citation suggests that *Jubilees* was so highly regarded that it was studied alongside the Torah as a source for legal rulings (cf. also 4QcitJub = 4Q228).¹⁶ Third, the use of the Jubilee to structure a theological interpretation of history is also found in the *Pesher on the Periods* and *Melchizedek* (cf. 4Q385^a, 387^a, 388^a, 389). Fifth, *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4QpsJub^{a-c} = 4Q225–227) either imitates *Jubilees* or has been influenced by its content. Together, *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* mutually reinforce many key interests of the Community, including a solar-based calendar, sabbatical laws, speculation on the origins of evil, and the revelation of heavenly wisdom.

In addition to *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, Qumran also preserves traditions that have found their way into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a document that describes the final words of Israel's ancestors. No complete version of the *Testaments* exists among the Scrolls. Nevertheless, the "testament" was a popular literary form at Qumran, and six manuscripts have been identified as possible precursors for the *Testaments of the Twelve*.¹⁷

Other previously unknown specimens of "testamentary literature" also flourished at Qumran, including the *Testament of Qahat* (4QTQahat = 4Q542) and the *Visions of Amram*^{a-f} (4Q543–548). Both of these testaments are attributed to faithful priests of the sacred past. Together with *Aramaic Levi*^{a-f} (4Q213–214b), these testaments idealize the proper sacerdotal behavior through the dying words and visions of Israel's priestly ancestors. The *Visions of Amram* contains a number of characteristic emphases of Qumran ideology, including dualism, the conflict between Melchizedek and Melchiresha', and the specific terminology of "Sons of Light" and "Sons of Darkness." These features suggest that it was likely composed by members of the Community.

FOCUS POINT: WISDOM AND APOCALYPTIC TRADITIONS

The Second Temple period furnished a fertile context for the growth of Wisdom and apocalyptic traditions, two great literary and theological traditions that have left their permanent impressions upon the Bible.

The wisdom tradition is directly represented in the Hebrew Bible by works such as Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. Although Israelite wisdom traditions have long histories that extend for millennia into their origins in the ancient Near East, the Second Temple period marks an especially prolific time for the formation and composition of wisdom literature. New wisdom writings continued to be written in the Hellenistic era, including Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. Qumran has also contributed previously unknown wisdom compositions.

The Qumran Community preserved copies of every wisdom writing in the Hebrew Bible (Job, Proverbs, Qohelet), plus a *Targum on Job* (11Q10; 4Q157) and passages of Ben Sira. The *Great Psalms Scroll* also indicates that the men of the Community could study and chant the Psalms in the context of wisdom tra-

ditions. The *Thanksgiving Hymns* also illustrate the Community's piety in quest of heavenly wisdom (e.g., 9.7–8).

Complementing these expressions of Jewish wisdom at Qumran are a number of newly discovered sapiential texts. In his introduction to these writings, Daniel J. Harrington classifies these texts into two categories: (1) the wisdom instruction, in which the writing dictates sage counsel to its audience; and (2) hymns and poems, which contain poetic meditations on the pursuit of wisdom and the snares of folly.¹⁸ These traditional styles of address are highly imitative of the biblical wisdom books themselves, where both instructions (Prov 22:17–24:22) and hymns (8:1–9:6) are often intermingled.

The best preserved example of the wisdom instruction at Qumran is *Sapiential Work A* (1Q26; 4Q415–418; 4Q423), available in six manuscripts that date from the latter half of the first century B.C.E. *Sapiential Work A* combines a number of practical admonitions with a remarkably transcendent view of wisdom and human life. Repeatedly this writing refers to “the mystery that is yet to come,” a phrase that may even be judged the subject of the work.¹⁹ This phrase is found nowhere in biblical wisdom traditions; thus, it embodies a significant degree of development in wisdom speculation beyond biblical precedents. The use of the term “mystery” suggests that wisdom is not immediately available to all (cf. Job 28). Instead, it can only be granted to those who pursue it rigorously and are blessed by divine knowledge.

There are numerous applications of what this “mystery” means. The mystery encompasses the wise and benevolent structure that the deity has given to creation (4Q416 frg. 1; 4Q418 frg. 1). This includes the unique nature of human life, which has “dominion” within the creation and possesses a “spirit of holiness,” which can be elevated to angelic status through wise conduct but will be brought down to the dust through folly (4Q418 frg. 69 2.12–15, frg. 81; 4Q423 frg. 2). Eschatology is also included in the mystery. In the future, a final judgment will mark God's definitive verdict upon the wise and foolish (4Q417 frg. 5; 4Q418 frgs. 2, 212–213, 43–45). In this sense, the mystery is truly “yet to come” and awaits final revelation. This eschatological feature distances the *Sapiential Work A* from the wisdom writings of the Hebrew Bible and Apocrypha. It attests to a context in which traditional sapiential emphases were fermenting together with eschatological and apocalyptic motifs.

These more transcendent aspects of wisdom are balanced by a series of very practical instructions that declare how “the mystery” may guide one amid the fortunes of life. Several admonitions deal with how to conduct oneself in poverty. Most striking is the emphasis that one must not demean oneself through desperate measures in the state of poverty: “In your ways, do not degrade your spirit, do not exchange the spirit of your holiness for any wealth, for no price can exceed [it]” (4Q416 frg. 2 2.6–7; par. 4Q417, 418). Prosperity, on the other

hand, should teach one to honor God with humility as the great giver of all blessings (1Q27 frgs. 1–2 line 1; par. 4Q416, 418; 4Q423).

In family matters, one must submit to “father and mother”:

Honor your father in your poverty,
 And your mother in your humiliation.
 For like a god to a human, so is his father,
 And like lords to a man, so is his mother,
 For they are the oven of your origin,
 And since he has given them dominion over you...,
 So serve them (4Q416 frg. 2 3.16–17; 4Q418 frgs. 9–10)

One is, in turn, to exercise dominion over one’s wife; even as one’s daughters shall belong to the dominion of another man some day (4Q415 frg. 9; par. 4Q416; 4Q418). This balance of powers among parents, husbands, and wives preserves a healthy social order in the eyes of the author. The author’s practical advice also strives for moderation in life:

Do not eat your fill of bread when there is no clothing;
 Do not drink wine when there is no food;
 Do not seek delicacies when you have no bread... (4Q416 frg. 2 2.19–21;
 4Q417 frg. 1 2.23–25)

Thus, the more transcendent aspects of “the mystery” are balanced by a reasoned equilibrium in the practical affairs of life.

The “mystery that is yet to come” is also an important theme in the *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299–300; cf. 4Q300). This writing contains a fervent eschatological hope that wisdom will ultimately triumph over folly throughout the creation:

And this is for you the sign that it is happening: When those begotten of iniquity are delivered up, and wickedness is removed from before light, and just as smoke ceases and is no more, so wickedness will cease forever; and righteousness will be revealed as the sun throughout the measure of the world. (1Q27 frg. 1 1.4–8; par. 4Q299, 300)²⁰

The other remains of *Mysteries* ridicule magic as a path to wisdom (4Q300 frg. 1 2.1–5; par. 4Q299), extol the infinite majesty of the creator (4Q299 frg. 2 2.10, frg. 5 lines 1–3), and offer admonitions to avoid taking vengeance and holding grudges (4Q299 frg. 50; par. 4Q300). Other passages skeptically lament the hypocrisy of human life (1Q27 frg. 1 1.8–12).

The *Book of Mysteries* and *Sapiential Work A* provide the most transcendent and esoteric approaches to wisdom among the Qumran writings. The earliest

manuscripts date to the turn of the era. The prevalence of the divine “mystery” in other Qumran writings suggests that both of these documents could well have been composed by members of the Community.²¹ The *Words of the Maskil to the Sons of Dawn* (4Q298), in fact, illustrates how instruction into the ideology of the Community could employ the language and style of wisdom.

The *Sapiential Work* attested in 4Q185 provides a different set of emphases. Here there is no reference to “the mystery that is to come.” Instead, a meditation on the frailty of human life encourages the simple to follow wisdom, for “[a man’s] days are like a shadow upon the earth.” Wisdom is not hidden away in mystery but available to all. There is no excuse for neglecting her. Beatitudes and woes were also used as styles of instruction.

The message of the *Sapiential Text* numbered 4Q424 may be paraphrased as, “Do not trust a fool to do the work of the wise.” Throughout this writing, the hearer is warned not to depend upon the services of those who are slothful, foolish, or unjust. In contrast to these troublemakers, the wise will fulfill their duties with efficiency and blamelessness. The work teaches how to be a good business person, not how to attain heavenly wisdom. This “secular” orientation distances its concerns from *Sapiential Work A* and *Mysteries*.

Perhaps the best-known new wisdom writing from Qumran is *Beatitudes* (4Q525), preserved in fragments from the latter half of the first century B.C.E. Since this writing preserves beatitudes like those in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3–12), it has rightly received a great deal of attention. Five beatitudes delineate between “two paths,” the way of the wise and the way of the fool, a traditional wisdom motif (cf. Prov 2:12–22):

[Happy is the one who speaks truth] with a pure heart,
and does not slander with his tongue.
Happy are they who cling to her statutes,
And do not cling to the ways of iniquity.
Happy are they who rejoice in her,
And do not babble in the ways of iniquity.
Happy are they who seek her with pure hands,
And do not search for her with a deceitful heart.
Happy is the man (who) has attained Wisdom,
And walks by the law of the Most High,
And fixes his heart on her ways,
And gives heed to her admonitions. (frg. 2 2.1–4)²²

Like Ben Sira (24:1–34), this document insists that true Wisdom is entirely consistent with the pursuit of the Torah. The “she” mentioned in these verses is Lady Wisdom, whom the readers are exhorted to pursue, even when she proves

a harsh mistress. If they do so, they will be truly “happy” in this world, enjoying a long life, offspring, and an honored memory to leave behind for future generations (frg. 14 lines 1–16).

Reference has already been made to the presence of poetic “hymns to wisdom” in the *Great Psalms Scroll*, including the presence of Ben Sira 51. Other sapiential compositions also pursue wisdom themes in a more hymnic or poetic style. The few preserved lines of the *Hymn of Knowledge* (4Q413) follow this tendency. The *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184) explores a well-known sapiential motif: the seductress, whom the youths must avoid in their pursuit of wisdom (cf. Prov 7). The *Songs of the Sage* is a collection of hymns strongly pervaded by wisdom themes (4Q510–511). The remains date to the late first century B.C.E. In these songs the *Maskil*, the “Sage” or “Instructor,” sings the praises of the deity as a means of defense against the powers of evil spirits:

And I, a Maskil, declare the splendor of his radiance in order to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and ... those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge. (4Q510; 4Q511 frg. 10).

Praising the power of the deity serves as the mechanism employed to defeat the evil spirits (4Q511 frg. 30). The demonological focus of these hymns illustrates that the sapiential tradition could also expand to encompass the realm of exorcism during the Second Temple period (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.42–49). Other writings from Qumran preserve similar hymns composed to defeat the powers of evil (*Apocryphal Psalms* [11Q11]; *Incantation Formula* [4QExorcism ar = 4Q560]; *Blessings*^a [4Q286]).

Apocalyptic traditions have left behind a powerful legacy in the history of early Judaism and Christianity. Specimens of the ancient literary genre “apocalypse” exist in the Hebrew Bible (Daniel), the Pseudepigrapha (*1 Enoch*; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*), and the New Testament (Apocalypse of John). Apocalyptic ideas, however, were reflected much more broadly in early Judaism than in these writings alone. Qumran provides important evidence for understanding both the literary genre “apocalypse” and the broader growth of apocalyptic thought in the Second Temple period.

The Qumran Community held high regard for the book of Daniel, as it did for the apocalypse of *1 Enoch*. “Daniel the prophet” was quoted as an authoritative document in the writings of the Community (*Florilegium* frgs. 1+3 2.3; *Melchizedek* 2.18). Moreover, our closest analogies for understanding the methods of peshar exegesis at Qumran are to be found in the dream interpretations of Daniel and other apocalyptic writings.²³ Qumran demonstrates the immediate acceptance and influence that Daniel enjoyed in Palestine within a

generation of its composition (ca. 167–164 B.C.E.). Eight copies were preserved at Qumran (1QDan^{a-b} = 1Q71–72; 4QDan^{a-c} = 4Q112–116; 6QDan = 6Q7), the oldest dating to the late second century B.C.E. Some scrolls may even reflect the underlying sources that inspired Daniel’s composition. Most notable among these is the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), a writing that contains a slightly different, and probably earlier, version of the same story told in Dan 4.²⁴ Daniel also inspired the activity of the rewritten Bible (*Pseudo-Daniel*^{a-b} = 4Q243–244; cf. 4Q245). The popularity of Daniel at Qumran, as well as the Community’s historical proximity to the time of its composition, may even raise the question of whether some of the members of the Community emerged from the same circles in which Daniel was originally composed.

The Qumran Community also preserved numerous copies of the Aramaic *Book of Giants*. A later version of this work eventually enjoyed canonical status within Manichaeism, yet the Scrolls have demonstrated that *Giants* was also popular in Judaism in the Second Temple period. The *Book of Giants* provides a detailed narrative of the fall of the Watcher angels, a tradition that is treated more briefly in *1 En.* 6–16. Although this work was probably not an apocalypse in the classic sense, it provides greater information regarding ancient demonology, as well as the mythological traditions about the Watchers that have strongly influenced *1 Enoch* and other apocalyptic writings.

An *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246) features a dramatic “vision” (see 1.3) of the last days that has been strongly influenced by passages of Daniel (7, 11). The remains of this writing, dating approximately 25 B.C.E., mention one “called Son of God” who will inaugurate an epoch of world peace:

oppression will come upon the earth [...] and great slaughter in the provinces [...] king of Assyria [and E]gypt [...] and he will be great over the earth [...] they [will d]o, and all will serve [...]gr[eat will he be called and he will be designated by his name. He will be called Son of God, and they will call him son of the Most High. Like the sparks that you saw, so will their kingdom be; they will rule several year[s] over the earth and crush everything; one people will crush another, and one province another—until the people of God arises and makes everyone rest from the sword. His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom, and all his paths in truth. He will judge the earth in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth, and all the provinces will pay him homage. The great God is his strength. He will wage war for him; he will place the peoples in his hand and cast them all away before him. His rule will be an eternal rule, and all the abysses... (1.4–2.9)

As Joseph A. Fitzmyer details, several different interpretations of this passage are possible. Some have imagined that the one called “Son of God” is, in fact, not a messianic figure but rather a latter-day enemy of God. Most, however, regard the

“Son of God” to be a heavenly deliverer modeled on the “Son of Man” vision in Dan 7.²⁵ It is tempting to regard the “Son of God” as a military figure, since wars are being waged throughout the passage—yet another option may be preferred. Instead of wielding the sword for God, God “will wage war for him,” delivering universal rule into his hands. Thus, a peacemaker and judge may be expected, rather than a conqueror: in his days, “the sword will cease from the earth.”

Revelations of a *New Jerusalem* (1QNJ = 1Q32; 2QNJ = 2Q24; 4QNJ^{a-b} = 4Q554–555; 5QNJ = 5Q15; 11QNJ = 11Q18; cf. 4Q554^a) are the subject of an impressive number of writings from Qumran dating from roughly 50 B.C.E.–50 C.E. The revelations of the *New Jerusalem* are disclosed to a visionary recipient on a “tour” of the heavenly world (cf. 1 En. 17–18; 21–36). Thus, they resemble a traditional motif in the apocalyptic genre.²⁶ Heavily influenced by the restoration program of Ezekiel (40–48), *New Jerusalem* provides a tour of the ideal Jerusalem that God will restore in the last days. The tour contains detailed architectural descriptions of the city plan of Jerusalem, the temple, and the proper ritual practices. In this sense, *New Jerusalem* shares much with the *Temple Scroll*, the *War Scroll*, and the New Testament Apocalypse of John (Rev 21). Its origins remain unknown, yet it was clearly appropriate to Qumran ideology, which regarded the present temple to have been defiled and eagerly hoped for its supernatural restoration by God.

Originally termed *Messianic Apocalypse* (4QMessApoc = 4Q521), another new writing from Qumran preserves an exhortation that is strongly based upon apocalyptic themes.²⁷ One manuscript survives, a copy dating around 100–80 B.C.E. This work presents a number of coincident signs that will inaugurate the future eschatological time of salvation and deliverance for Israel. These include the universal rule of God’s Messiah and the resurrection of the dead:

Heaven and earth will hearken unto his Messiah, and all that is in them will not depart from the precepts of his holy ones. Strengthen yourselves in his service, you who are seeking the Lord! For the Lord will regard the faithful, and call the righteous by name. And his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his strength. For he will honor the faithful upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted.... And the fru[it of a good work] ... will not be delayed. And the Lord will perform marvelous acts, such as have not existed, just as he said, for he will heal the wounded and the dead he shall revive, he will proclaim good news to the poor ... and he shall lead ... and enrich the hungry. (frgs. 2+4 2.1–13)

This writing reveals a number of important assumptions about the last days. First, the end time will be a grand reversal that will turn the fortunes of the righteous from suffering to consolation. This reversal will be so radical that even the

righteous dead will be revived into newness of life. Second, the suffering righteous will receive justice. In the future, “the fruit of a good work” will no longer be delayed, as it is during the present time of distress. God, therefore, will ultimately be just, even to those who have not lived to see the full benefits of their uprightness. Third, this writing assumes a rhetorical purpose of consolation. Its readers should strengthen themselves by remembering the future blessings that await the righteous. Other references to “the valley of death” and “the bridge of the Abyss” probably refer to cosmic realms of punishment for the wicked (frgs. 5+7 col. 2). The work remains vital for understanding the history of messianism and resurrection in early Judaism.

Another composition concerned with the future reward of the righteous is *Pseudo-Ezekiel*^{a-e} (4Q385–388, 391), a strikingly clever paraphrase of portions of the book of Ezekiel, including the prophet’s chariot vision (Ezek 1; 4Q385 frg. 6) and the valley of dry bones (Ezek 37; 4Q385 frg. 2; par. 4Q386, 388). *Pseudo-Ezekiel* may be classified as a specimen of the rewritten Bible, yet its revisions of Ezekiel exhibit the clear influence of apocalyptic motifs. For example, “Ezekiel” aggressively questions God about the timing of final judgment:

I have seen many in Israel who love your name and walk on the paths of righteousness. When will these things be? And how will they be rewarded for their loyalty? (4Q385 frg. 2)

Such aggressive questions are found nowhere in Ezekiel. Instead, they are far more reflective of apocalyptic motifs, in which a visionary figure questions the deity regarding the mysteries of divine justice and the end of the age (e.g., Dan 12:6, 8; cf. 2 *Baruch*, 4 *Ezra*). God answers such questions in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* by promising that the days and weeks of the world will be shortened to alleviate the distress of the righteous and hasten the time of salvation. Furthermore, in its paraphrase of Ezekiel’s valley of dry bones, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* expects a future resurrection of the righteous (4Q385 frg. 2, etc.). The work provides valuable insight into the reinterpretation of prophecy in apocalyptic thought.

Beyond these writings, apocalyptic thought pervaded numerous aspects of the Qumran group. From the earliest writings of the Community, the pursuit of the Torah was understood within an eschatological context (*Some of the Works of the Torah C*). The emergence of the Teacher (*Damascus Document* 1.1–2.1) and the Community (*Rule of the Community* 8.13–16) marked the fulfillment of prophecies of salvation during the evil dominion of Belial. Devotion to purity was pursued in anticipation of God’s final purification of the world, and the Community’s separation from outsiders expressed the divided apocalyptic destinies of the “Sons of Light” and the “Sons of Darkness” (3.13–4.26). The Community’s teachings were “mysteries of God,” revelations to be kept secret and disclosed only to the elect (9.16–19). At Qumran, the heavens were open,

and angelic spirits worshiped with their congregation, as though the heavens themselves had descended into the wilderness (11.7–9).

From the earliest assessments, Qumran has perennially been considered an apocalyptic community.²⁸ This recognition offers great value for the study of ancient apocalypticism in the broadest sense. In the case of Daniel and *1 Enoch*, we have little information about the social history and behavior of the movements that produced these works. With Qumran, however, we have a more balanced view of both the theological literature and the underlying forms of social life in which Qumran expressed its apocalyptic sense of reality. That social response is perhaps best characterized as “introversionist”—a response to the world that rejects the prevailing tendencies of external society and seeks to cultivate an exclusive form of purity through isolation.²⁹ The men of Qumran did not pursue a “conversionist” response to apocalyptic hope: they did not seek to change outsiders. Nor did they pursue a “revolutionary” agenda by taking up arms against the “evil empires” of their day. Instead, the way of the wilderness was one of separation from the defilement and deception that raged in the world around them, during the time of eschatological testing. If salvation came, it would come from God alone. Until then, it was enough to sanctify oneself, to pray, to study, and to hope.

THE “APOCRYPHA” AT QUMRAN

Ben Sira	
2QSir (2Q18)	6:14–15, 20–31
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	51:13–19, 30
Tobit	
4QpapTob ^a (4Q196)	1:17; 1:19–2:2; 3:9–15; 6:14–17; 6:19–7:3; 13:6–14:3
4QTob ^b (4Q197)	4:21–5:1; 5:12–14; 5:19–7:10; 8:21–9:4
4QTob ^c (4Q198)	14:2–6, 10?
4QTob ^d (4Q199)	7:12?
4QTob ^e (4Q200)	3:6, 10–11; 4:3–9; 10:7–9; 11:10–12; 12:20–13:4, 13–14
Letter of Jeremiah	
7QpapEpJer (7Q2)	vv. 43–44
Psalm 151	
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	151, A and B

THE APOCALYPSE OF ENOCH AT QUMRAN

MANUSCRIPTS	COMPARABLE SECTIONS OF <i>1 ENOCH</i>
4QEn ^a (4Q201)	Watchers: 1.1–6; 2.1–5.6; 6.4–8.1; 8.3– 9.3; 9.6–8; 10.3–4; 10.21–11.1

4QEn ^b (4Q202)	Watchers: 5.9–6.4; 6.7–9.4; 10.8–12; 14.4–6
4QEn ^c (4Q204)	Watchers: 1.9–5.1; 6.7; 10.13–19; 12.3; 13.6–14.16; 18.8–12; 30.1–32.1; 35.2– 36.4 Dream Visions: 89.31–36 Epistle: 104.13 Birth of Noah: 106.1–2
4QEn ^d (4Q205)	Watchers: 22.13–24.1; 25.7–27.1 Dream Visions: 89.11–14, 29–31, 43–44
4QEn ^e (4Q206)	Watchers: 22.3–7; 28.3–29.2; 31.2–32.6; 33.3–34.1 Dream Visions: 88.3–89.16; 89.27–30
4QEn ^f (4Q207)	Dream Visions: 86.1–3
4QEn ^g (4Q212)	Epistle: 91.18–92.2; 92.5–93.4; 93.9–10; 91.11–17; 93.11–94.2
[Cf. 4QEnAstr ^{a–d} = 4Q208–211]	

THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES* AT QUMRAN

MANUSCRIPTS

CONTENT OF *JUBILEES*

1QJub ^a (1Q17)	27.19–20
1QJub ^b (1Q18)	35.8–10
2QJub ^a (2Q19)	23.7–8
2QJub ^b (2Q20)	46.1–3
3QJub (3Q5)	23.6–7, 12–13
4QJub (4Q176 ^a)	23.21–23, 30–31
4QJub ^a (4Q216)	1.1–2, 4–15, 26–28; 2.1–4, 7–12, 13–24
4QJub ^c (4Q218)	2.26–27
4QJub ^d (4Q219)	21.1–2, 7–10, 12–16; 21.18–22.1
4QJub ^e (4Q220)	21.5–10
4QJub ^f (4Q221)	21.22–24; 22.22; 23.10–13; 33.12–15; 37.11–15; 38.6–8; 39.4–9
4QJub ^g (4Q222)	25.9–12; 27.6–7; 48.5
4QJub ^h (4Q223–224)	32.18–21; 34.4–5; 35.7–22; 36.7–23; 37.17–38.13; 39.9–40.7; 41.7–10
11QJub (11Q12)	4.7–11, 13–14, 16–17, 29–30; 5.1–2; 12.15–17, 28–29

OTHER POSSIBLE MANUSCRIPTS:

4QJub ^b (4Q217)	1.29–2.1; 2.29–30?
4QcitJub (4Q228)	[manuscript with apparent citation of <i>Jubilees</i>]

7

WHY ARE THE SCROLLS IMPORTANT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE NEW TESTAMENT?

As soon as the Scrolls were discovered, a number of theories regarding their possible relationship to the New Testament and Christian origins gained rapid momentum. The discovery of an early Jewish library from the time of Jesus offered untold potential for reconstructing the origins of Christianity. For the first time, writings of the land, time, and language of Jesus were available to modern study. Yet precisely how the Scrolls might benefit the study of Christian origins remained an open question that has invited a number of provocative claims about the Scrolls and Christian origins. This chapter introduces the present state of affairs on this important question. After summarizing an array of sensational responses that first attended the discovery of the Scrolls, we will observe how Qumran has taught us more about the original context of John the Baptist and Jesus, Jesus' approach to the Torah, and beliefs regarding messianism and the resurrection. In conclusion, an important debate in contemporary Jesus research is examined in light of the Scrolls.

BEYOND SENSATIONALISM AND CONSPIRACY

The earliest assessments of the relationship between Qumran and Christian origins claimed that the Scrolls were essentially a *praeparatio evangelium* in the classic sense—"a preparation for the gospel." In the Scrolls, the central ideas of Christianity were already present in an incipient form. It followed that Jesus and his followers must have been intensively shaped by currents of Essene theology. Even prior to the discovery, the famous French scholar Ernst Renan had argued, "Christianity is an Essenism which has largely succeeded."¹ The discovery of the Scrolls placed such assertions only further in the spotlight. Had the Scrolls dramatically revealed the long-lost backgrounds of the Jesus movement?

An important scholar whose work reflected this view was André Dupont-Sommer, a fine scholar in the tradition of French orientalists. Writing on the very heels of the original discovery, Dupont-Sommer portrayed Qumran Essene

theology as a kind of prototype that Jesus and the earliest Christians would follow with striking resemblance:

The Galilean Master, as He is presented to us in the writings of the New Testament, appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of [the Righteous Teacher]. Like the latter He preached penitence, poverty, humility, love of one's neighbor, chastity. Like him He prescribed the observance of the Law of Moses, the whole Law, but the Law finished and perfected thanks to his own revelations. Like him He was the Elect and the Messiah of God, the Messiah redeemer of the world.... Like him He was condemned and put to death.... Like him He founded a Church whose adherents fervently awaited His glorious return.... And the ideal of both Churches is essentially that of unity, communion in life—even going so far as the sharing of common property.²

These stunning claims immediately provoked a shock wave of response. If Dupont-Sommer was right, then the Scrolls had unveiled the very religious matrix from which early Christianity had evolved. Edmund Wilson, the famous cultural critic, reported Dupont-Sommer's claims to a very broad reading audience,³ further extending the frenzy of the original discovery. For Wilson, the discovery of the Scrolls even implied that Christianity was more likely to be a natural outgrowth of Essenism than a supernatural revelation. Such assessments further sensationalized the Scrolls' relevance for Christianity.

Many of Dupont-Sommer's claims have been judged as exaggerated. Nowhere is the Righteous Teacher called "Messiah." We do not know that the Teacher was executed. Nowhere did the Community refer to itself as a "church." Nowhere is the Teacher clearly expected to return. Nor has it been possible to substantiate any direct genealogical relationship between the Essene movement and the church.⁴ Dupont-Sommer's work raised an important methodological issue when studying the Scrolls and the New Testament: on one hand, we must value what the Scrolls can teach us about Christian origins; on the other, we must recognize differences as well as similarities. The Scrolls may illumine much that was in darkness regarding the original Jewish context of Christian origins, yet they equally show us the path that was not traveled by Jesus and his earliest followers. Both of these contributions of the Scrolls must be recognized as valuable, each in its own way.

While scholars like Dupont-Sommer saw Essenism as an earlier parent-movement for Christianity, others have attempted to show that the Scrolls actually contain reference to the very persons mentioned in the New Testament. Through entire jungles of mind-bending argument, Robert Eisenman proposes that the Righteous Teacher was James the Just, the brother of the Lord. The story of the Teacher's persecution is, therefore, a symbolic portrayal of the suppression

of James' authority in the early church under the growing power of Paul's pro-Roman version of Christianity.⁵ Likewise, Barbara Thiering has argued that the Teacher is John the Baptist, making the "Man of the Lie" no less than Jesus himself.⁶ More recently, Carsten Peter Thiede has attempted to revive an earlier theory that a terribly preserved Greek fragment, 7Q5, contains portions of Mark 6:52–53.⁷ In contrast to these theories, a vast majority of scholars agrees that neither Jesus nor any of his followers is referred to in any Scroll from Qumran. The dating of the manuscripts makes it impossible that the Teacher could have been anyone mentioned in the New Testament. Moreover, the theory that Mark was preserved at Qumran can only be considered a wild guess, given the very poor state of preservation in 7Q5. Thus, the Scrolls contain no information about figures mentioned in the New Testament, nor are they likely to contain any writing found in the New Testament.

In stubborn contrast to such reasoning, conspiracy theories still abound. Most recently, one may cite the mistaken description of the Scrolls found in Dan Brown's adventure novel, *The DaVinci Code*. Its views, in turn, are largely based on the conspiracy theories of Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, who alleged that the Vatican suppressed the full publication of the Scrolls, since their secret contents were injurious to Christianity. Their anti-Catholic conspiracy theory revives the polemical accusations of the colorful John Allegro decades earlier. Sadly, speculations about an "Angel Scroll" in 1999 brought many of these same accusations out of the woodwork again, in predictable form. In over fifty years, however, no Dead Sea Scroll has proven injurious to Christian faith. Instead, Christians continue to value the Scrolls as an important window into the nature of Judaism during the time of Jesus. Catholic scholars have labored indefatigably in order to reveal their full content.

Overdrawn evolutionary theories, sensationalism, and conspiracy theories are interesting reflections of human nature. They reveal how the ancient, arcane, and mysterious continue to animate the human imagination. They have done little, however, to advance our understanding of the Scrolls or the New Testament. In an effort to transcend such errors, scholars employing the Scrolls in their reconstructions of Christian origins recognize that (1) the Scrolls may teach us much about Palestinian Judaism during the time of Jesus. Those studying the New Testament and the Scrolls will, therefore, heed the admonition of Lawrence Schiffman: "Only through scholarly efforts to understand what the scrolls can teach us about the history of Judaism . . . can we effectively learn what they have to teach us about the history of Christianity."⁸ (2) Jesus was not an Essene, nor did he establish an Essene community. (3) Neither Jesus nor any of his followers is mentioned in the Scrolls; no Essene is directly mentioned in the New Testament. (4) Differences are just as important as any similarities that one may draw between Qumran and Christian origins. With these principles in

view, we turn to some of the most important contributions that the Scrolls have made to the study of the New Testament.

REPENTANCE IN THE WILDERNESS

It has long been recognized that the New Testament person who most resembles what we know of the Qumran Community is John the Baptist, a Jewish prophet active in the Judean wilderness (ca. 25–28 c.e.) during Phase 2 of Qumran's history. John appears in all the Gospels, Acts, and the historian Josephus.

There are several striking resemblances between John and the Qumran Community. Both were active during the same time and in the same region. Matthew situates John at the Jordan River in the wilderness of Judea (3:1; cf. Luke 1:80); Josephus places his execution at Machaerus, just across the Dead Sea (*Ant.* 18.116–119). Both practiced rituals of immersion, while also demanding that ethical repentance accompany such purifications (Mark 1:4 and par.; *Ant.* 18.117; *Rule of the Community* 3.8–9). Both use the terminology of “Holy Spirit” to refer to the deity's cleansing of sinful human beings (Mark 1:8 and par.; *Rule of the Community* 4.21). Both were highly conditioned by eschatological ideas (Mark 1:7–8; *Rule of the Community* 3.13–4.26, etc.). Both advocated strict matrimonial laws (Mark 16:14–29 and par.; *Temple Scroll* col. 57; *Damascus Document* 4.20). Both exhibited certain “world-denying” ascetic tendencies. Both in John's work and at Qumran, the prophecies of Isa 40:3 were being dramatically fulfilled (Mark 1:1–4 and par.; *Rule of the Community* 8.13–16): “In the wilderness,” a voice of prophecy was calling—both John and Qumran were preparing “the way of the Lord” in the latter days.

As early as 1950, scholars such as William Brownlee found these similarities too substantial for mere coincidence: John must have had some relationship to the Qumran Community or the Essene movement at large. A number of scholars over the years have joined him.⁹ The implications of such an identification are profound: if John was influenced by Qumran, then he could have transmitted that very influence directly to Jesus of Nazareth, a brief adherent of his movement whose own preaching and activity were inaugurated by the wilderness baptism.

Yet once again we must note differences. Although both were active in the same region, Qumran exhibits no sense of significance for the Jordan River. For John, however, the Jordan held crucial typological significance: in the very river in which Israel originally entered the land under Joshua, God was now purifying his people in anticipation of the end time. The men of Qumran, by contrast, were content to bathe in *miqva'ot*. Rituals of purification at Qumran were daily, prior to pure meals; John's baptism seems to have been once for all. Nor is John

remembered for the celebration of pure meals. John's movement was among the people. He did not hide his teachings from outsiders but became the most famous prophetic figure of his day. Although his adherents had to depart from the cities to follow him (Matt 11:7; Luke 7:24), they did not have to endure an extended initiation process. They did not devote their property to a community of goods. They did not separate completely from the world. The particular form of John's asceticism—clothing of camel's hair and a diet of locusts and wild honey—is nowhere advocated in the Scrolls. These differences have led a number of scholars to deny any link between John and the Community.¹⁰ Even those who still affirm a relationship between the two often assert that John ultimately repudiated any earlier connection that he had to Essenism and embarked upon a decisively new path.

Perhaps the most important thing we can learn from comparisons between John and the Community is to recognize the powerful draw that the wilderness region exerted upon a number of distinct religious and political movements during the period of Christian origins. Alongside John and Qumran, an entire matrix of other parties ventured into the wilderness with aspirations of religious and political renewal. The "wilderness" held an important mythical significance within the collective memory of the Jewish people. It had provided the original landscape of the Sinai revelation (Exod 13:18–19:2; cf. 3:18; 5:1; 7:16; 8:27–28). It was there that the old generation of faithlessness had died and God renewed the covenant with a new generation (Num 13–14; Deut 1; 5). Across the Jordan River, they passed and began to possess the land (Josh 3). It was in the wilderness that Isa 40:3 envisioned a new visitation of God's power and presence in the land beyond the cataclysm of the exile. In what better place could groups disillusioned with the prevailing religious and political status of Palestinian Judaism seek renewal and return to the origins of Israel's covenant relationship with God? The wilderness of Judea was also conveniently out of the eyesight of the Jerusalem authorities. This combination of mythical significance and freedom from the prevailing authorities drew a number of groups into the wilderness like a powerful magnet.

Josephus and the New Testament refer cryptically to several of these groups. When Fadus was procurator (40–42 C.E.), a revolutionary prophetic leader named Theudas led many to the Jordan River in the wilderness, promising to part it, perhaps in a reenactment of Israel's original entrance into the land (*Ant.* 20.97–99; Acts 5:36). During the rule of Felix (52–60), prophetic figures led the multitudes out into the wilderness, expecting supernatural "signs of liberation" from God (*War* 2.259; cf. *Ant.* 20.188). Among these, an Egyptian prophet endeavored to lead a multitude out of the wilderness and into a conquest of the city of Jerusalem (*War* 2.261–263; *Ant.* 20.169–171; cf. Acts 20:38). The teacher with whom Josephus studied, Banus, was also in the desert:

I was informed that one whose name was Banus lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity. I imitated him in those things and continued with him three years. (*Life* 11)

Matthew also warns of “false messiahs and false prophets” active “in the wilderness” (24:23–27). Alongside these diverse groups, John and the Community were also drawn into the wilderness by their own visions for religious and political renewal. Among them, passing silently for one brief moment, Jesus also entered into the wilderness, seeking purification through the baptism of John. The wilderness, in fact, is the earliest location to which we can trace Jesus’ public activity through historical research. The Scrolls have more fully revealed the larger religious context of “the wilderness experience” in Judaism, an experience that powerfully appealed to John and Jesus.

JESUS AND THE TORAH

The legal writings and rules among the Scrolls have opened a new window into controversies over the Torah during the time of Jesus. Like the men of Qumran, Jesus had his own approach to the Torah, one that brought him into conflict with other legal traditions in his own time, especially those of the scribes, Pharisees, and temple priests. It has often been assumed that Jesus relaxed and even liberalized the Torah, not unlike the great Rabbi Hillel. The Scrolls, however, require a more nuanced view. As measured alongside the Scrolls, Jesus could move swiftly between extreme relaxation and intensification of the law. Rarely did he take the middle road. It is easy to see how such a figure, moving decisively between extremes, could generate conflict and controversy.

Some of the legal material in the Scrolls further underscores the traditional view of Jesus’ relaxed approach to the Torah. In this case, specific legal traditions can even be cited. Among the strict sabbatical laws of the *Damascus Document* is a tradition that mandates how one may respond to various crises on the Sabbath:

No one should help an animal give birth on the Sabbath day. And if it falls into a well or a pit, he should not take it out on the Sabbath. (CD^a 11.12–14; 4Q270; 4Q271)

According to Matthew and Luke, Jesus opposed himself to this legal tradition, arguing that acts of mercy and compassion were required upon the Sabbath:

Suppose one of you has only one sheep and it falls into a pit on the Sabbath; will you not lay hold of it and lift it out? How much more valuable is a

human being than a sheep! So it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath. (Matt 12:11–12)

If one of you has a child or an ox that has fallen into a well, will you not immediately pull it out on the Sabbath day? (Luke 14:5; cf. 13:15)

The Torah certainly mandated that one must help the animal of one's neighbor in such a condition (Deut 22:4)—but what about the Sabbath? Was mercy to wait until the next day? The *Damascus Document* and Jesus are diametrically opposed on this question. For the *Damascus Document*, it is the awesome holiness of the Sabbath that prevails; for Jesus, it is mercy. Later Rabbinical writings handle the affair more pragmatically: give the fallen animal provisions and pillows; if it ascends, it ascends (*b. Šabb.* 128b).

Elsewhere Jesus consistently pursues an agenda of authorizing works of mercy on the Sabbath. The hungry may glean grain on the Sabbath if they are desperate (Mark 2:23–28; Matt 12:1–8; Luke 6:1–5), yet the *Damascus Document* forbids walking in agricultural fields or eating what has not been prepared beforehand (10.20–22). Jesus worked signs and wonders of healing among the needy on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–6; Luke 13:10–17; 14:1–6; John 5:1–9; 7:22–23), yet the *Damascus Document* forbids even the mention of one's profession or conducting business of any kind (10.19; 11.4–5). Perhaps it was an eschatological sense of the kingdom's impending nearness that prompted Jesus to do works of mercy even on the Sabbath. Was the time so short that the mission must continue even on the Sabbath day? Or perhaps Jesus' departures derive from the unique lifestyle of an itinerant charismatic who often needed food when and where he could find it and had to perform works of mercy on the run, before taking off again for the next town.¹¹ Whatever the motivations, the *Damascus Document* fully reveals the liberalizing tendencies of Jesus' legal reasoning. A similar assessment may be given to Jesus' relaxed positions on purity (Mark 7:1–23; Matt 15:1–20; Luke 11:37–41) and burial of the dead (Matt 8:22; Luke 9:62), as well as his frequent associations with "sinners" (Mark 2:13–17; Matt 9:9–13; 11:19; Luke 5:27–32; 7:34–36; 15:1–2).

Before concluding the matter here, however, the Scrolls have also prompted us to see "the other side" of Jesus' approach to the Torah: on certain points, Jesus was every bit as rigoristic as the men of Qumran. This is especially the case with his views on marriage:

Some Pharisees came, and to test him they asked, "Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?" He answered them, "What did Moses command you?" They said, "Moses allowed a man to write a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her." But Jesus said to them, "Because of your hardness of heart he wrote this commandment for you. But from the beginning of creation, 'God made them

male and female.' 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh.' So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate."

Then in the house the disciples asked him again about this matter. He said to them, "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her; and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery." (Mark 10:2–12; cf. Matt 19:1–9; 5:32)

Jesus' scriptural argumentation resolutely denies that any legitimate divorce can take place. Thus, it is adultery if one remarries because human beings cannot separate what God has joined together. By such reasoning, both divorce and remarriage are forbidden. Jesus, in fact, rejects the commandment of Deut 24:1 and prioritizes Gen 1:27 and 2:24 in justifying his legal claims.

There are analogies to Jesus' legal reasoning among the Scrolls. In the *Damascus Document*, "fornication" is among the "three nets of Belial" that have ensnared the people during the dominion of wickedness. What "fornication" means is clarified in what follows:

They are caught twice in fornication for taking two wives in their [masc.] lives; but the foundation of the creation is "male and female he created them" (Gen 1:27), and the ones who went into the ark "went in two by two into the ark" (7:9). (CD^a 4.20–5.2; cf. 4Q266; 4Q267; 6Q15)

In this legal reasoning, fornication is taking more than one wife. In ways that resemble Jesus' own reasoning, the "foundation of the creation" is the legal basis for the rulings, as the author quotes Gen 1:27 and 7:9. Since men are forbidden from taking two wives "in their lives," this legal ruling prohibits polygamy and perhaps even remarriage after the death of a wife. If so, it would be a remarkably strict ruling indeed. The polemical tone of the passage implies that others did not see things the same way but held more relaxed positions on these issues. Another rejection of divorce is found in the *Temple Scroll* (57.15–19). In the two clear cases that are available, the Community preserved strict prohibitions against divorce and remarriage.

When Jesus' teaching on divorce is compared with the Scrolls, his own rulings appear equally strict. His contemporary John the Baptist exhibited similar tendencies that may even have led to his execution (Mark 6:18; Matt 14:4; Luke 3:19–20). Some have attempted to explain Jesus' "strictness" as a concern for social justice: Jesus did not want women to be victimized by their husbands.¹² Although this is possible, a more apparent explanation exists in light of the Scrolls: on matrimonial laws, Jesus was simply a rigorist, and he interpreted the Torah as strictly as the Qumran group on certain points. A strict approach to the

Torah is also attested in Jesus' rejection of the Pharisees' "traditions" that made the harsher points of the law more convenient for the populace to follow (Mark 7:1–23; Matt 15:1–20). Jesus would have agreed with the men of Qumran that they were "Seekers of Smooth Things," or as he preferred, "hypocrites" (Mark 7:6; Matt 23; Luke 11:44). Jesus' teachings on wealth (Matt 6:24; Luke 6:13), on loving enemies (Matt 5:43–48), on anger and lust (Matt 5:22, 28), and on swearing (Matt 5:33–37) may also represent intensifications of the Torah that express his more rigoristic side.

Taken together, these cases strongly suggest that Jesus' legal reasoning was not entirely characterized by a relaxed or liberalizing approach to the Torah. Instead, what was distinctive about Jesus in his own historical context was the manner in which he could radically shift between more liberalizing and more rigorous applications of the Torah. Jesus refused the *via media*. Instead, he explored the extremes of devotion toward God and celebrated the radical demands that the Torah claimed upon the life of Israel.

MESSIANISM AND RESURRECTION IN THE SCROLLS

Beyond these contributions for understanding Jesus, the Scrolls also preserve material that is directly relevant for exploring the backgrounds of two of the great mysteries of Christian faith: the advent of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead. Qumran preserves a surprising number of writings that take us back into the world of pre-Christian reflection on messianism and resurrection in Palestinian Judaism.

The original discovery of the Scrolls presented an immediate surprise on the question of messianism: there would be, not one Messiah, but two. Qumran's diarchal messianism envisions the advent of both priestly and royal Messiahs in the latter days. The *Rule of the Community* commands,

They shall be judged by the first judgments in which the men of the Community began to be instructed, until the coming of the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel. (9.10–11)

Several passages of the *Damascus Document* (12.23; 14.19; 19.10–11; 20.1) and the *Florilegium* (1.10–12) seem to attest the same hope. The *Testimonia* also envisions the rise of priestly (14–20) and royal (9–13) figures in the future. Since this messianic vision is attested in at least four writings, it has often been considered the predominant messianic teaching of the Qumran group. Diarchal Messianism is highly appropriate to the Community's ideology: at the very time the Hasmoneans ruled successfully as priests and kings, the men of Qumran expected the rise of a new messianic political order in which these offices would be divided between two separate leaders. Possible

sources for diarchal messianism include Ezekiel's restoration program (Ezek 40–48; cf. 34; 37) and the divided rule of Zerubbabel and Joshua in the restoration (Zech 4:14).

Other writings, however, may envision a single Messiah. In the *Rule of the Congregation*, a single Messiah, called "Messiah of Israel," appears among the holy congregation at the latter-day banquet (2.11–22). Characteristic of Qumran messianism, the Messiah is not the absolute leader of the congregation at this feast. Instead, he fills a position of intermediate authority, subservient to the hierocratic rule of the priests, yet preeminent among the people.

The *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252) also mentions a single "Messiah of Righteousness" who will be like David (frg. 6 5.1–4). The promises of a kingdom for Israel will be restored in the future through the coming of the Messiah. The *Commentary* exhibits one of the Scrolls' strongest expressions of Davidic messianism: the belief that the Messiah will be a royal Davidic figure. Interestingly, the *Commentary* does not feel the immediate need to insert a priestly figure alongside the Messiah to keep him in line.

If Messiahs at Qumran could be royal and priestly, could they also have prophetic characteristics? The *Melchizedek* document indicates that this option was also pursued at Qumran.

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, the messenger of good news who announces salvation, who says to Zion, "Your God reigns." (Isa 52:7)

Its interpretation: The "mountains" are the prophets who ... And "the messenger" is the Anointed ["Messiah"] of the Spirit about whom Daniel said, "Until the coming of an anointed one, a leader, there shall be seven weeks" (Dan 9:25). And "the messenger of good news who announces salvation" is the one concerning whom it is written that ... to comfort ... to instruct them in all the periods of the world... (2.15–20)

In an exposition of Isa 52:7, the commentator anticipated the coming of an "Anointed of the Spirit," a "messenger" who would instruct and comfort the people with glad tidings in the latter days. He is also numbered among "the prophets" who have preceded him in the history of Israel. Thus, messianic expectations at Qumran could also envision a renewal of inspired prophecy in the end times (cf. *Rule of the Community* 9.10–11; *Testimonia* 1–8).

In the previous chapter, reference has already been made to the "Son of God" in the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246), who is strongly modeled upon the "Son of Man" vision in Dan 7. Although not using the title Messiah, this document portrays a figure who will bring universal peace and righteous judgment to the world after a period of global calamity.

A Messiah with universal authority is expected in the *Messianic Apocalypse* (4Q521). This figure will bear rule over "heaven and earth" as the time of God's final visitation dawns. During the messianic reign, God will ensure that the suffering righteous will receive their just rewards and that all things will be set right throughout the world.

Finally, the "Prince of the Congregation" may be numbered among the broader range of messianic figures at Qumran, although he never bears the exact title of "Messiah" (*Rule of Blessings*; *Rule of War*; *Moses Apocryphon*^b; *Commentary on Isaiah*^c; *Damascus Document* 7.20). This charismatic military warrior will defeat the *Kittim*. In this mission, he will execute the administrative rulings of his superiors, the priests. This figure may well have been modeled upon the "Prince" of Ezekiel's restoration program (Ezek 40–48; cf. 34–37). The "Prince" is as close as we come in the Scrolls to the overtly "militant" Messiah featured in the *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* (Gen 49:11).

In the early 1990s, amid the release of new Scrolls, an instant sensation was created when scholars mistakenly announced that the *Rule of War* contained direct reference to a "slain" or "pierced" Messiah.¹³ The implications of this identification would be earthshaking for the study of Christian origins. Such a discovery would definitively prove that the notion of a "suffering Messiah" was extant in Judaism prior to the origins of Christianity and that early Christianity adopted this messianic idea as its own, in order to interpret and explain the demise of Jesus. Subsequent study, however, has shown (1) it is the "Prince of the Congregation," not "the Messiah," who is referred to in this writing; and (2) the Prince is the military victor, not the victim, in the eschatological war that this document describes. There was, therefore, no "slain Messiah" at Qumran during the period of Christian origins. In light of the messianic expectations of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the "scandal of the cross" and the enigma of the Messiah's suffering, thus, remain an inscrutable mystery, "to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Gentiles foolishness" (1 Cor 1:23–24).

The diverse terminologies and functions attributed to messianic figures at Qumran warn against identifying a single, coherent content for "Qumran messianism." Instead, the Messiah was an experimental idea at Qumran, one that was applied in a variety of ways. In his edition of the various *Rule of the Community* fragments, James H. Charlesworth notes, for example, that mention of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel was simply not included in an important manuscript of the *Rule* from Cave 4 (4QSc = 4Q259).¹⁴ This suggests that messianism was not always the focal point of the Community's attention. Moreover, consider the diversity of messianic figures among the three writings found within the large *Rule* scroll from Cave 1 (1Q28): the *Rule of the Community* refers to "the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel"; the *Rule of the Congregation* points toward "the Messiah of Israel"; and the *Rule of Blessings* mentions the "Prince of the

Congregation.” All three of these designations are contained within a single scroll and reflect a context of diverse innovation in imagining messianic figures. Although it is tempting to harmonize several of these cryptic references into a larger picture, the differences in terminology and emphasis in the various manuscripts advise against this. Noble attempts to propose a developmental theory about how messianism emerged at Qumran have not been entirely successful either.¹⁵ In the end, perhaps we may best appreciate Qumran messianism by recognizing its diversity, its adaptability to various contexts, and its exploration of a number of messianic types, including royal, priestly, and prophetic models.

These wide-ranging visions of messianic identity call our attention to the different understandings of what it means to be a “Messiah” in the New Testament itself. Certainly, all the writings of the New Testament share the conviction that Jesus is the Messiah—yet what does this term mean to them? Several New Testament assumptions about messianic identity share some of the same general tendencies of the Scrolls.

The *Aramaic Apocalypse*, for example, contributes to our understanding of what the title “Son of God” could mean within Judaism during the period of Christian origins. The *Apocalypse* also demonstrates how the “Son of Man” vision of Dan 7 remained an important source for messianic ideas, both in the Scrolls and in the Gospels (Mark 13:24–27; 14:61–62; Matt 24:29–31; 26:63–64; Luke 21:25–28; 22:69). In the book of Daniel, the “one like a son of man” is probably a collective designation for “the holy ones of the Most High” (7:18, 27), those who have remained faithful during the Hellenistic reform; however, in the *Aramaic Apocalypse* and in the New Testament, the vision points toward the advent of a single apocalyptic figure.

The Davidic identity of the Messiah, emphasized in the *Commentary on Genesis A* and *Florilegium*, is also applied to Jesus in the New Testament.

The Gospel of Matthew further extends the messianic authority of Jesus to universal rule “in heaven and in earth” (28:18), not unlike the figure anticipated in the *Messianic Apocalypse*. The Messiah’s cosmic rule is also central to Paul’s theology (Phil 2:5–11; 1 Cor 15:24–28).

In the Gospel of Luke, the Messiah is a prophetic figure who is “anointed” by “the Spirit of the Lord” to proclaim glad tidings (Luke 4:14–30; cf. Isa 61:1–2; 58:6). This messianic identity strongly resembles the “Anointed of the Spirit” in *Melchizedek* (2.15–20; cf. Isa 52:7).

Priestly messianism, although generally absent from the Gospels and Paul, is even reflected among the early Christian writings in the book of Hebrews. The Scrolls thus reveal the larger context of messianic expectations within which the New Testament authors interpreted the identity of Jesus.

Alongside important documents regarding messianism, the Scrolls have also preserved at least two examples of the flourishing of resurrection hope

during the Second Temple period. Prior to the discovery of the Scrolls, our most important evidence for the resurrection hope was to be found in Dan 12:1–3, 2 Maccabees (7:1–36; 12:38–45; 14:37–46), and in portions of *1 Enoch* (25.4–6; 51.1–2; 58.2–3; 92.3–5; 100.4–9; 103.3–4). The two Qumran writings that clearly mention resurrection, the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, were probably composed around 150–100 B.C.E. Thus, they provide excellent specimens for observing how the resurrection hope continued to develop after the earliest traditions of *1 Enoch* and Daniel.

In the *Messianic Apocalypse*, God will “revive the dead” as one of several eschatological acts that will turn the fortunes of the suffering righteous from despair to exaltation (frgs. 2+4 2.1–13). Accompanying the resurrection are other divine acts, strongly modeled upon Isa 61, including glad tidings for the poor, release for prisoners, and sight for the blind. A remarkably similar list of the signs of the messianic times may be found in the Q source to Matt 11:2–6/Luke 7:18–23.¹⁶ Through the resurrection, “the fruit of a good work” will no longer be delayed. God’s faithfulness to reward the righteous extends even beyond the chasm of the grave. References to the heavens welcoming the righteous and to the presence of angels (frgs. 7+5 lines 14–15) may suggest that this author saw the resurrection as a transformation into heavenly or even angelic existence, not unlike Dan 12:1–3 and other ancient traditions (*1 En.* 58.2–3; *Pss. Sol.* 3.12; *4 Ezra* 7.97; *2 Bar.* 51.10–12). Fragmentary references to “the valley of death” and “the bridge of the Abyss” (frgs. 7+5) also imply that the *Messianic Apocalypse* envisioned cosmic realms of punishment for the wicked.

Pseudo-Ezekiel’s portrayal of the resurrection is similarly concerned with the reward of the righteous. In a penetrating question, “Ezekiel” directly interrogates the deity about how the righteous will be rewarded for their faithfulness. This question reveals our author’s burning preoccupation with the problem of theodicy: Is God just? And how will the divine justice be carried out in the world? The answer emerges in a revision of Ezek 37. Although Ezekiel presented this vision as a metaphor of Israel’s national restoration after the exile, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* understands this as a literal prophecy regarding the future resurrection of the righteous, as did other ancient readers of Ezekiel (*Lives of the Prophets* 3.11–12; *Gen. Rab.* 14.5; *Lev. Rab.* 14.9; Tertullian, *Res.* 29–30). Since Ezekiel’s vision graphically portrays bones, sinews, and flesh being reconstituted before the prophet’s very eyes, it is possible that the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* assumed a radically physical understanding of resurrection, perhaps not unlike the author of 2 Maccabees. By reviving the dead, God fully demonstrates the divine faithfulness to the righteous. Thus, the author found an answer to his burning questions about theodicy in the resurrection hope.

Among the three major “schools” of Judaism, Josephus reports that both Pharisees and Essenes held strong support for the “immortality of the soul”

(Josephus, *War* 2.154–158, 163; *Ant.* 18.14, 18). This is probably a Hellenized expression for resurrection of the dead, as comparison with Hippolytus's parallel accounts reveals (*Haer.* 27.1–3; 28.5). Although the resurrection hope seems to be missing from central writings of the Community (*Rule of the Community*; *War Scroll*; *Damascus Document*), the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* clearly attest its acceptance, and even popularity, at Qumran.

Alongside Pharisees and Essenes, the Jesus movement clearly cast its lot in favor of the resurrection hope. Hope in the resurrection is, in fact, one of the most notable continuities between the Jesus tradition (Mark 12:18–27; Matt 22:23–33; Luke 20:27–40) and the writings of the former Pharisee Paul (1 Thess 4:13–18; 1 Cor 15). Resurrection was not only central for understanding the Easter experience; it also remained vital to the good news, as the earliest believers envisioned the course of future history. Earliest Christianity, both in its origins and in its future, was truly a resurrection faith.

Twice in his letters Paul directly describes the future eschatological scenario as a resurrection (1 Thess 4:13–18; 1 Cor 15). In the former case, Paul calls upon the resurrection hope to “comfort” and “encourage” the hard-pressed Thessalonian churches (1 Thess 4:18). This consolatory concern is shared with the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. Paul also envisions the resurrection as a translation into heavenly existence (4:17), not unlike Daniel and probably the *Messianic Apocalypse*. Nowhere does Paul assert that the future resurrection will simply be a restoration of the same body lost in death.

In 1 Corinthians, Paul boldly reveals the centrality of resurrection hope in his gospel, even on the Hellenized turf of Corinth. Remarkably, this former Pharisee who preached to the Gentiles a “law-free” gospel cannot bring himself to proclaim a resurrectionless one. This characteristic illustrates how fully Paul’s interpretation of the gospel was influenced by the heritage of apocalyptic Judaism, a heritage that the Scrolls have more fully illuminated. In light of the resurrection, Paul encourages believers to remain faithful until the end, “excelling in the work of the Lord, knowing that our labor is not in vain” (15:58). Thus, Paul would have agreed with the *Messianic Apocalypse* that “the fruit of a good work” will not fall to the ground, but God will remember the faithful even beyond the grave. In the largest sense, the resurrection is central to Paul’s approach to theodicy, as it was for the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The resurrection proclaims the righteousness of a God who will not allow the world to spiral forever into the chaos of sin and death but who will redeem the creation even from the final enemy of death (15:20–28).

FOCUS POINT: WISDOM AND APOCALYPTIC THEOLOGY IN RECENT JESUS
RESEARCH

Since their original discovery, the Scrolls have played an important role in historical Jesus research. The discovery offered first-hand evidence for cross-examining claims about "Judaism in the time of Jesus" that had pervaded studies of Jesus throughout history. Today the Scrolls remain at the forefront of an important controversy in Jesus research: Were Jesus' teaching and activity shaped by the apocalyptic expectation of a coming kingdom of God? Or did Jesus see the kingdom in more sapiential terms, as God's wise and benevolent rule over the present creation as it already exists? This question currently divides a number of leading figures from one another, with E. P. Sanders, Dale Allison, and Bart Ehrman maintaining the traditional case for the apocalyptic Jesus¹⁷ and J. D. Crossan, Burton Mack, and Marcus Borg arguing in favor of the more sapiential and noneschatological view.¹⁸ Do the Scrolls tip the scales in favor of one of these competing claims about the eschatology of Jesus?

The newly discovered wisdom compositions from Qumran may prove to be the most important materials for addressing this current impasse in Jesus research, as Daniel Harrington has perceptively noted.¹⁹ Crossan and Mack rely heavily upon wisdom traditions in order to argue for a nonapocalyptic Jesus who was more concerned about the structures of reality in the present than the advent of an apocalyptic kingdom in the future. For Crossan, Jesus' theology of the kingdom of God is inherently sapiential. The kingdom is the compassionate reign of God over all creation, a kingdom that was, is, and forever shall be. The radical impetus of Jesus' teaching was to challenge a society that had blinded itself to the reality of this kingdom through its own corruption, prejudice, and greed. As Jesus states in the *Gospel of Thomas*, "the kingdom of God is spread out upon the earth, yet men do not see it" (113). In this argument, the wisdom traditions of the Hebrew Bible, as well as Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon, Philo of Alexandria, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and Q, feature as important evidence. If Crossan, Mack, and Borg are correct, then the historical Jesus was not an apocalyptic preacher like John the Baptist. Instead, he was a countercultural sage who challenged social conventions by reducing all of life to a radical recognition of God's benevolent reign over the creation.

A more careful investigation of sapiential traditions from Qumran may challenge this proposal. Three Qumran wisdom compositions are explicitly concerned with eschatological themes: *Sapiential Work A*, *Mysteries*, and probably *Sapiential Work* (4Q185). These three writings significantly undercut an important assumption of Crossan: that Jewish wisdom was free of apocalyptic expectation. True wisdom in these writings included an eschatological perception into "the mystery that is yet to come." Thus, even if one looks to wisdom traditions as the best ancient context for understanding Jesus, eschatology is

still there waiting and cannot be avoided. A sapiential Jesus is, therefore, no sure escape from the apocalyptic herald of the kingdom.

Other wisdom compositions from Qumran preserve no explicitly eschatological content. Instead, they are more fully dedicated to the pursuit of Lady Wisdom in the practical and ethical decisions of daily life (*Sapiential Text* [4Q424]; *Ways of Righteousness* [4Q420–421]; *Beatitudes* [4Q525]). In contrast to these writings, Jesus' teachings appear to be more fully informed by eschatological concerns. Comparison with the Qumran *Beatitudes* is especially revealing. Like this wisdom writing, Jesus also pronounces beatitudes; yet unlike this writing, Jesus' beatitudes point toward a future realization (Q/Luke 6:20–21; cf. Matt 5:3–12; *Gos. Thom.* 54):

Happy are the poor,
For yours is the kingdom of God.
Happy are those who hunger now,
For you shall be filled.
Happy are those who weep now,
For you shall laugh.

Only a reversal of the most dramatic nature can transform poverty, hunger, and mourning into blessedness. The destitute will be blessed only through the advent of a radically new order, the kingdom of God. The wisdom traditions from Qumran may more fully restore Jesus' sapiential teachings to their appropriate context, a context in which wisdom and apocalyptic themes were not mutually exclusive but could be combined in eclectic and innovative ways. The future study of the Scrolls may thus tip the scales of probability increasingly in favor of an apocalyptic Jesus, one whose testimony to wisdom would ultimately be vindicated in the coming of the kingdom of God.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Emanuel Tov, "Scripture," *EDSS* 2:832–36.

CHAPTER 2

1. On the earliest archaeologists to assess the Qumran site, see Phillip Davies, *Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 30; Stephan J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 110.

2. See Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 21–22; and James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 50–51.

3. J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha 1* (NTOA 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); translated by Stephen Pfann as *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Ain Feshkha* (NTOA 1B; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003).

4. These coins had been identified by de Vaux himself, yet he discounted them since they were found in strata of mixed materials in which it was impossible to establish a clear chronology (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22–24).

5. See also J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1959), 20–21.

6. Tov and Naveh have also shown that Cave 4 preserves the remains of writing exercises that further reflect the professional activity of scribes, just across the terrace from the site. See Emanuel Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert," *JJS* 39 (1988): 10; and J. Naveh, "A Writing Exercise?" *IEJ* 36 (1986): 52–55. Milik had apparently made similar claims.

7. Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17–28; see also Cross and Eshel, "The Missing Link: Does a New Inscription Establish a Connection between Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *BAR* 24.2 (1998): 48–53, 69.

8. Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 170–73; Joseph E. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–53.

9. De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 89–90.

10. Magen Broshi, "Qumran: Archaeology," *EDSS* 2:736.

11. Emanuel Tov, "The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M. Stone and E. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–56.

12. Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 77.

13. This remains only an educated guess; see J. T. Milik, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 164. The document on which he based this claim was Mur 45.

14. Hanan Eshel, "Documents of the First Jewish Revolt from the Judaean Desert," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology* (ed. A. Berlin and J. Overman; New York: Routledge, 2002), 157–63.

CHAPTER 3

1. Stephen Goranson, "Posidonius, Strabo and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa as Sources on Essenes," *JJS* 45 (1994): 295–98.

2. On the presence of women in the literary evidence of the Scrolls, see Sidnie White Crawford, "Not according to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 127–50.

3. Another initiatory process is described in the *Damascus Document* (15.5–16.6).

4. Yet it should be noted that some paleo-anthropologists studying the skeletons from Qumran note a red stain on many of the bones, provided by alizarin, a chemical found in the Madder Root, which was widely regarded as a medicinal herb in ancient times.

5. This thesis was well advanced by Morton Smith, "The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and in the Philosophumena," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 273–313.

6. This is the thrust of Puech's comprehensive study, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future* (EBib 21–22; 2 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1993). See also *Sapiential Work A* (4Q416 frg. 2 3.6–8; 4Q418 frg. 69 line 7), which may also affirm hope in a future resurrection.

7. Cecil Roth, "Why the Qumran Sect Cannot Have Been Essenes," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 417–22.

8. See Norman Golb, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Perspective," *American Scholar* 58 (1989): 177–207; Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

9. See, most recently, Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004).

10. Lawrence Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 (1980): 1–24.

11. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 331–32.

12. For these references to the Teacher, see *Commentary on Habakkuk* 2.2; 4.26–27; 8.2–3; *Commentary on Psalms*^a 1.27; 4.15–17; *Commentary on Psalms*^b frg. 1 line 4.

13. Shemaryahu Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147–85.

14. Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1971).

15. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 326–42.

16. *Ibid.*, 342.

17. See also 1.16; 2.1, 3, 5, 14; 5.8; 8.3, 10; *Commentary on Micah* frg. 11 line 5; *Commentary on Isaiah*^c frg. 30 line 3; *Damascus Document* 1.13–2.1.

18. Florentino García Martínez, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins," *RevQ* (1990): 521–41.

19. See Rainer Riesner, "Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Charlesworth; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 206–7; Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 50–52.

20. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 66–69. She prefers only a brief abandonment between 9/8 B.C.E. and 4 C.E.

CHAPTER 4

1. The outline is revised from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 1. Citations of the *Rule of the Community*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Rule of Blessings* derive from the translations in this volume, with occasional revision.

2. Some scholars use the term “Qumran sectarian” to refer to documents definitely composed by members of the Qumran group and “nonsectarian” to refer to those that may have originated elsewhere. Some scholars also recognize that the Community may have used literature for “sectarian” purposes, even if it did not compose the works.

3. Adapted from Qimron and Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 108.

4. Adapted from *ibid.*, 119. More groups than these may, indeed, be mentioned, although this document is fragmentary.

5. Joel M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 30.

6. Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of Fifty Key Documents Withheld for Over Thirty-Five Years* (Rockport, Mass.: Element, 1992), 24–27. James Tabor also offered some limited support of this reading; see “A Pierced or Piercing Messiah?—The Verdict is Still Out,” *BAR* 18.6 (1992): 58–59.

7. J. T. Milik, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1992): 143.

8. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma’ase ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

9. James VanderKam includes the following: *Jubilees*, 1 *Enoch*, the *Qumran Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11, *Mishmarot A-I* (4Q320–330), and *Commentary on Genesis A* (4QCommGenA = 4Q252) (see his *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 114; see also his *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* [LDSS; London: Routledge, 1998]).

10. Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:71.

11. For more details, see *ibid.*, 1:71–88.

12. As a verb, Dan 5:12, 16; as a noun, 2:4, 5, 6 (2X), 7, 9, 16, 24, 25, 26, 30, 36, 45; 4:3, 4, 6, 15, 16 (2X), 21; 5:7, 8, 12, 15, 16 (2X), 17, 26; 7:16.

13. The basic distinction between the continuous and thematic *Pesharim* was made by Jean Carmignac in “Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq,” *RevQ* 7 (1969–71): 360–61; and “Notes sur les Peshārīm,” *RevQ* 3 (1961–62): 505–38.

14. 4QpIsa^a frgs. 2–6 2.26; 4QpIsa^b 2.1; 4QpIsa^c frgs. 6–7 2.15, frg. 13 line 4, frg. 23 2.10; 4QpIsa^c 5.2.

15. Or “works of Torah,” according to some readings.

16. This argument has been advanced by Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

17. The argument was originally made by J. T. Milik, “Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144; Puech, *La croyance des esséniens*, 2:546–48.

18. Due to the scheme of history presented in the *peshar*, some scholars regard this work to have been part of the same ancient document that is also preserved in *Melchizedek*. See the previous note regarding the studies by Milik and Puech.

19. Puech identifies twenty-six columns by adding an additional thirty fragments to 1QH^a. The *Hymns* are often cited with Puech's new numbering system first, followed with Sukenik's earlier system: e.g., col. 19 (Sukenik 12). Puech's system is used in the present work. For Puech's reconstruction, see "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55.

20. For "I thank you, O Lord...", see 4.9, 17, 26; 6.23; 10.20; 11.1, 19, 37; 12.5; 13.5, 20; 15.6, 26, 34; 16.4; 17.38; 19.3, 15. For beatitudes, see 5.4; 6.8; 8.16; 13.20; 18.14; 19.27, 29; 22.15; cf. 25.14. For rhetorical questions, see 3.5; 5.19–20; 7.17, 24; 9.23, 25–26; 11.23–24; 12.29; 15.28–29, 32; 18.3, 7–8, 11–12; 19.3–4, 24; 20.27–28, 31–35; 21.4–5, 7, 10–11; 21.6, 11–12; 22.10–11; 23.4; 26.10.

21. Carol A. Newsom, "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *EDSS* 2:887.

CHAPTER 5

1. Tov, "Scripture," 2:832–33.

2. On this distribution, see VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 30–31; Geza Vermes, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 172–73; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 104–5; Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (DSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 18–19. These numbers can be viewed only as an approximation.

3. Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 18, following an earlier study in French by J. Carmignac.

4. Tov, "Scripture," 2:832–33; Tov, "The Socio-Religious Background of the Paleo-Hebrew Biblical Texts Found at Qumran," in *Judentum* (ed. P. Schäfer; vol. 1 of *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 353–74.

5. These include copies of Exodus (7QpapLXXExod = 7Q1), Leviticus (4QLXXLev^a = 4Q119; 4QpapLXXLev^b = 4Q120), Numbers (4QLXXNum = 4Q121), and Deuteronomy (4QLXXDeut = 4Q122). See Emanuel Tov, "The Nature of the Greek Texts from the Judean Desert," *NovT* 43 (2001): 1–11.

6. Frank Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 306–20; Tov, "Scripture," 2:833.

7. Tov, "Scripture," 2:833.

8. Such "proto-Samaritan" readings may be found in copies of Exodus (4QExod-Lev^f = 4Q17; 4QpaleoExod^m = 4Q22), Leviticus (4Q17; 4QLev^d = 4Q26), Numbers (4QNum^b = 4Q27), and Deuteronomy (4QDeutⁿ = 4Q41).

9. Good examples are provided by copies of Deuteronomy (4QDeut^a = 4Q44), Samuel (4QSam^a = 4Q51), and Jeremiah (4QJer^b = 4Q71).

10. For examples, see 1QDeut^a = 1Q4; 1QIsa^a; 2QExod^{a-b} = 2Q2–3; 2QNum^b = 2Q7; 2QDeut^{b-c} = 2Q11–12; 2QJer = 2Q13; 3QLam = 3Q3; 4QDeut^{k,m} = 4Q38, 40; 4QSam^c = 53; 4QIsa^d = 4Q58; 4QPs^{a,c,f,n,s} = 4Q83, 87, 88, 95, 98b; 4QQoh^a = 4Q109; 4QLam^a = 4Q111; 4QDan^b = 4Q113; 11QLev^b = 11Q2 (Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 10–16.). He also references biblical collections and paraphrases that share the same features; see 4Q158, 4Q364–365, 4QPs^f, 11Q19, 11QPs^{a,b}, 11QapocPs^a. On the use of proto-Masoretic sources, see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 114–15.

11. These "nonaligned" texts include copies of Leviticus (4QLev^c = 4Q25; 11QpaleoLev^a = 11Q1), Deuteronomy (4QDeut^b = 4Q29; 4QDeut^c = 4Q30; 4QDeut^h = 4Q35; 4QDeut^{k,l} = 4Q38, 38^a; 4QDeut^m = 4Q40), Kings (6QpapKgs = 6Q4), Isaiah (4QIsa^c = 4Q57), Twelve Minor Prophets (4QXII^a = 4Q76; 4QXII^c = 4Q78; 4QXII^e = 4Q80), and Daniel (4QDan^a =

4Q112). Tov also notes the prevalence of “nonaligned” readings in poetic texts such as Song of Songs (4QCant^{a-b} = 4Q106–107).

12. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 116–17; Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts,” 8; Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 8–9.

13. Frank Moore Cross, *Scrolls from Qumrān Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Pesher to Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and Shrine of the Book, 1974), 3.

14. Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts,” 10–16. Comparison with the Masoretic Text would suggest that the scribes who copied *Great Isaiah* were working with a proto-Masoretic source (Cross and Tov), yet numerous deviations representing Qumran practice predominate.

15. Cross, *Scrolls from Qumrān Cave I*, 4; Eugene Ulrich, “4QSam^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the Serekh Hayyahad,” *BASOR* 235 (1979): 1–25.

16. On the paleography of these corrective hands, see Cross, *Scrolls from Qumrān Cave I*, 4.

17. The list of excerpted texts in what follows is derived from Tov: Exodus (2QExod^b = 2Q3; 4QExod^c = 4Q16), Deuteronomy (4QDeutⁱ = 4Q37; 4QDeut^k = 4Q38; 4QDeutⁿ = 4Q41; 4QDeut^q = 4Q44; 5QDeut = 5Q1), Psalms (4QPs^b = 4Q84; 4QPs^g = 4Q89; 4QPs^h = 4Q90; 4QPsⁿ = 4Q95; 5QPs = 5Q5; 11QPs^{a-d} = 11Q5–8), Song of Songs (4QCant^{a-b} = 4Q106–107), and possibly Ezekiel (4QEzek^a = 4Q73). The theory of excerpted texts was originally proposed by Hartmut Stegemann, “Weitere Stücke von 4 Q p Psalm 37, von 4 Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4 Q mit Exzerpten aus Deuteronomium,” *RevQ* 6 (1967–69): 193–227. Tov has updated and expanded the theory in “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1995): 581–600.

18. Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts,” 586–88; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Phylacteries and Mezuzot,” *EDSS* 2:675–79. Some Qumran phylacteries add the Ten Commandments as found in Deut 5 to these texts (e.g., 4Q128, 129, 134, 137, 139, 142), a practice that is at odds with later rabbinical pronouncements.

19. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2nd ed.; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973); George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 89–156; Phillip S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D. Carson and H. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121.

20. George Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” *EDSS* 2:777.

21. Tov, “Rewritten Book of Joshua,” 233–56.

22. *Discourse on Exodus-Conquest* (4Q374), *Moses Apocryphon*^{a-b} (4Q375–376, 1Q29), *Pseudo-Moses*^{a-c} (4Q385a, 387a, 388a, 389, 390), *Words of Moses* (1Q22), *Meditation on Creation A–C* (4Q303–305), *Apocryphon of Joseph*^{a-c} and *B* (4Q371–373 [cf. 4Q539]), *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*^{a-c} (4Q383–384, 385b, 387b, 389a), and *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243–245 [cf. 4Q242 and 246]).

23. A. S. van der Woude, “Targum of Job,” *EDSS* 1:414.

24. Sanders’s proposal has been seconded by Peter Flint, Gerald Wilson, Eugene Ulrich, and James VanderKam. See Peter Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Gerald Wilson, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered: Analysis of the Debate,” *CBQ* 47 (1985): 624–42; Eugene Ulrich, “The Scrolls and the Study of the Hebrew Bible,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, 2000), 37–38; VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 135–39.

25. This view was promoted in various forms by M. Goshen-Gottstein, Patrick Skehan, Shemaryahu Talmon, and (more recently) Tov. See M. Goshen-Gottstein, “The Psalms Scroll

(11QPsa): A Problem of Canon and Text,” *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33; Shemaryahu Talmon, “Pisqah Be’emsa’ Pasuq and 11QPsa,” *Textus* 5 (1966): 11–21; Patrick Skehan, “A Liturgical Complex in 11QPsa,” *CBQ* 34 (1973): 195–205; Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts,” 593–95. At least three Psalms manuscripts were probably excerpts of the Torah psalm found in 119 (4QPs^g = 4Q89; 4QPs^h = 4Q90; 5QPs = 5Q5).

CHAPTER 6

1. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief* (63 B.C.E.–66 B.C.E.) (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1993), 20–21. He also lists the importance of “military power” as a fourth divisive issue; cf. the *War Scroll* and the *Temple Scroll* 56–59.

2. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1:1–106.

3. Gideon Bohak, “Hellenism,” *EDSS* 1:350–52.

4. Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (LEC 7; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 128–29.

5. See *Commentary on Isaiah*^c frg. 23 2.10; *Commentary on Nahum* frgs. 3–4 1.1–8; *Catena*^a frgs. 7, etc., line 12; *Thanksgiving Hymns* 10.15.

6. Émile Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie et les débuts de la communauté de Qumrân: 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 241–70.

7. David Flusser, “Some Notes about the Prayer for King Jonathan,” *Tarbiz* 61 (1992): 297–300; M. Kister, “Some Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 280–90.

8. For “Sons of Zadok,” see *Damascus Document* 3.21–4.3; *Rule of the Community* 5.2; 5.9; *Rule of the Congregation* 3.22; *Florilegium* 1.17; and *Commentary on Isaiah*^c frg. 22. For “Sons of Aaron,” see *War Scroll* 7.10; 17.2; *Rule of the Community* 9.7; 5.2; 5.21; cf. 5.6; 8.9; 11.6. For “Levites,” see *Temple Scroll* 21.1; 22.10–12; 60.6–7; *Damascus Document* 14.3; cf. *Aramaic Levi, Testament of Qahat, Pseudo-Jubilees*^{a–b}. For “priests,” see *Rule of the Community* 6.4–19; 8.1; *Damascus Document* 9.13–15; 13.2–3; 14.3–5.

9. E.g., Emil Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), 1:2: “The predominance of Pharisaism is what most distinctly characterized this period.” See also George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 1:59 and throughout.

10. *A Prayer of Manasseh* is preserved together with some psalms and noncanonical hymns (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B = 4Q381), yet it is not the same composition preserved in Greek in Codex Alexandrinus.

11. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 89–98.

12. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 177–78.

13. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Book of,” *EDSS* 1:251.

14. See further James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (ed. J. VanderKam and W. Adler; CRINT 3.4; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 32–100.

15. James C. VanderKam, “The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 635–48.

16. More specifically, VanderKam has noted that the festival of covenant renewal in the *Damascus Document* (4Q266 frg. 11 lines 16–18; 4Q270 frg. 7 2.11–12) is to be celebrated at the same time when it takes place in *Jubilees* (1.1; 6.17–22; 14.20); see James C. VanderKam, “Jubilees, Book of,” *EDSS* 1:436–37.

17. 1QTLevi = 1Q21; 4QLevi^a = 4Q213; 4QLevi^d = 4Q214; cf. *T. Levi* 2; 6–13; 18; 4QTNaph = 4Q215; cf. *T. Naph.* 1.11–12; 3QTJud^e = 3Q7; 4QTJud = 4Q538; cf. *T. Jud.* 12.11–12; 25.1–2; 4QTJos = 4Q539; cf. *T. Jos.* 14.4–5; 15.1–17.2.

18. Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (LDSS; New York: Routledge, 1996).

19. See 1Q27 frgs. 1–2 line 1; 4Q415 frg. 6 line 4; 4Q417 frg. 2 1.6–9; 4Q418 frgs. 43–45, frg. 123.

20. Translation revised from Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 70.

21. See Daniel J. Harrington, “The Raz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q423),” *RevQ* 65–68 (1996): 549–53; Harrington, “Mystery,” *EDSS* 1:588–91; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “4QMysteries^b, A Preliminary Edition,” *RevQ* 62 (1993): 203–23. For references to the divine “mysteries” in other writings, see *Rule of the Community* 3.13–4.26; 9.18–19; 11.3–5, 18–21; *Commentary on Habakkuk* 2.2–3; 7.4–8, 13–14; *Thanksgiving Hymns* 9.11–13, 21; 10.13; 12.27; 13.25, 36; 15.17; 17.23; 19.10; 20.13–20; *War Scroll* 3.9; 14.9, 14; 16.11; 17.9.

22. Restoration and translation follow Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 66.

23. For bibliography and apocalyptic usage on this point, see C. D. Elledge, “Exegetical Styles at Qumran: A Cumulative Index and Commentary,” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 165–208.

24. Eugene Ulrich, “Daniel, Book of,” *EDSS* 1:171. Ulrich has conjectured that 4QDan^c, which contains only part of the prayer found in Dan 9:4–19, might preserve an originally independent source of that prayer rather than a copy of the book of Daniel. Similar arguments have been made about *Acts of a Greek King* (4Q248) and its relationship to passages of Dan 11–12.

25. For these and other approaches, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “4Q246: The ‘Son of God’ Document from Qumran,” *Bib* 74 (1993): 153–74.

26. Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 180–213.

27. Émile Puech, *La croyance des esséniens*, 2:663–64.

28. Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 145; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 145–76.

29. I am influenced here by sociologist Bryan R. Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism* (Clarendon Paperbacks; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

CHAPTER 7

1. Quoted in André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (trans. E. Rowley; New York: Macmillan, 1952), 99; from Renan’s *History of the Jewish People*.

2. Dupont-Sommer, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 99.

3. Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

4. Dupont-Sommer repeatedly defended his arguments, clarifying only that “Christianity is no copy or replica of Essenism. It is, to put it more exactly, a quasi-Essene neo-formation, the originality of which I am far from denying” (*The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes: New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [trans. R. Barnett; New York: Macmillan, 1956], 150). Elsewhere he would call Christianity “a sort of derivative or variety of Essenism” (*The Essene Writings from Qumran* [trans. G. Vermes; Cleveland: World, 1962], 375).

5. Robert Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran: A New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins* (StPB 34; Leiden: Brill, 1983); Eisenman, *James the Brother of Jesus: The Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1996).

6. Barbara Thiering, *Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Unlocking the Secrets of His Life Story* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993).

7. Jose O'Callaghan, "New Testament Papyri in Qumran Cave 7?" *JBL* Supplement 91 (1972): 1–14; Carsten Peter Thiede, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Origins of Christianity* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

8. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), xiii.

9. William H. Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA* 13 (1950): 50–72; Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957); Otto Betz, "Was John the Baptist an Essene?" *BRev* 6.6 (1990): 18–25. For further bibliography, see Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-historical Study* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).

10. For an early denial, see H. H. Rowley, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson* (ed. A. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University, 1959), 218–29. More recently, see Webb, *John the Baptizer*, both for his own arguments and bibliography.

11. Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (trans. J. Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 369.

12. See *ibid.*, 370–71.

13. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, 24–27; Tabor, "Pierced or Piercing Messiah," 58–59.

14. James H. Charlesworth, "Challenging the *Consensus Communis* Regarding Qumran Messianism (1QS, 4QS MSS)," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 120–34.

15. Jean Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân," *RB* 70 (1963): 481–505; George J. Brooke, "The Messiah of Aaron in the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 215–30. For review, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 77–80.

16. James D. Tabor and Michael O. Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," *JSP* 10 (1992): 149–62.

17. E. P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (New York: Penguin, 1996); Bart D. Ehrman, *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Dale C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996).

18. John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 265–302; Burton Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 57–77; Marcus J. Borg, "Portraits of Jesus," in *The Search for Jesus: Modern Scholarship Looks at the Gospels* (ed. H. Shanks; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994).

19. See especially Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 87–92.

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